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ABSTRACT

Prior to an intensive 3-day conference, position papers were prepared by a select group of Mexican American scholars, representing the areas of history, anthropology, bilingualism, sociology, political science, education research, psychology, and cultural arts. Under suggested guidelines, selected Mexican American educational leaders reacted to the papers in small group sessions at the conference. Based on these reactions, the papers were then revised for this publication, which is divided into two sections. The first contains two introductory papers concerning the general topic of education for the Mexican American. The second section includes a paper discussing specific problems of the Mexican American child and the eight main position papers. Topics of the papers are: a challenge for educational institutions--an educational philosophy for the instruction of Mexican Americans; anthropological implication in the education of Mexican Americans; toward a philosophy of education for the Chicano, bilingualism and intellectual development; current educational research, the basis for a new philosophy for educating Mexican Americans; politics and education; a tri-partite development for the cultural arts in the education of the Mexican American; the ethnocentric response of public education to the Chicano, implications for school administrators; the psychology of the Mexican American; a historical perspective on the Mexican American. Each paper is preceded by a short preface and followed by a list of the panel members and their reactions. (NQ)

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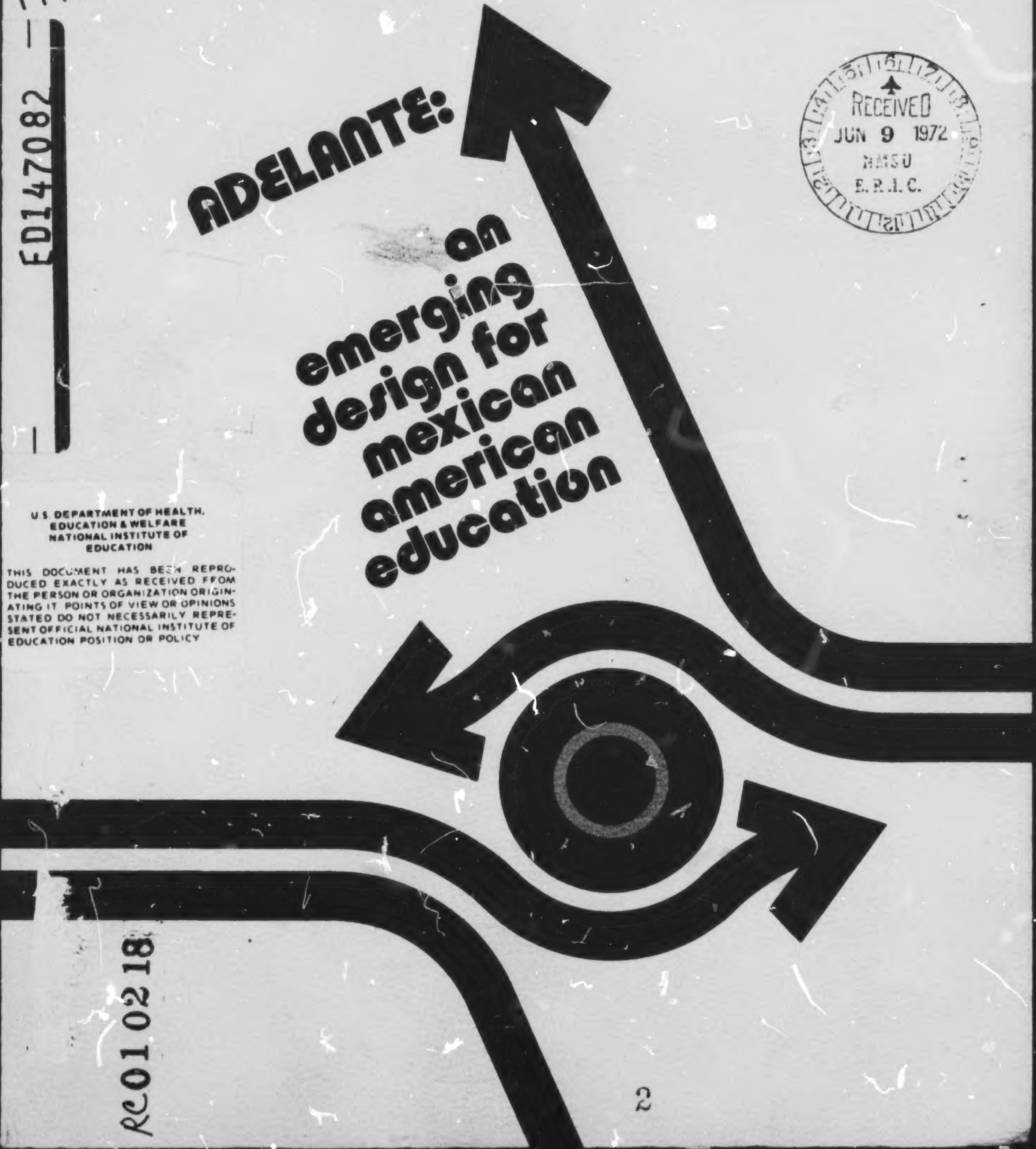

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ADELANTE: AN EMERGING DESIGN FOR MEXICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

(draft manuscript for field review)

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PREFACE

Manuel Reyes Mazón
The University of Texas at Austin

PREFACE

Manuel Reyes Mazón

One of the recurring problems that faces nearly every teacher working in the southwestern United States is the education of linguistically and culturally different Mexican American children. Teacher Corps, by its projects in this area as well as throughout the nation, is providing resources for the remedy of these problems.

What exactly is Teacher Corps? It is an agency of the U. S. Office of Education which has the legislative mandate to seek reforms in the education of the disadvantaged child. To accomplish this, Teacher Corps Washington contracts with Colleges of Education and Local Education Agencies (LEA), who together plan a program of education that adopts new teacher-training designs and better educational services for disadvantaged children and their communities. Interns recruited for the program work for a two-year period toward a degree in education developed around their activity in the classroom and with the community.

As evidence of Teacher Corps's commitment to provide resources for the education of the culturally and linguistically different, the Washington office has provided funds for the Teacher Corps Assistance Project (TCAP) in the Center for Communication Research at The University of Texas at Austin. TCAP is developing a training sequence for Teacher Corps interns which provides a sound educational philosophy reinforced with community-based cultural awareness and language training. The intern will thus be able to assess the language capabilities of the child and to deal with his language with understanding. Consequently, instead of being classified as deficient, the child will be able to use the language that he knows in order to learn English.

The heterogeneous composition of people of Mexican ancestry residing in the United States, coupled with the dearth of indigenous scholars, has heretofore prevented this ethnic group from making a careful analysis of its background and present status with a view toward defining an educational philosophy that might be used to guide the development of educational programs. To accomplish this, the Teacher Corps Assistance Project, under a contract with Teacher Corps, U. S. Office of Education, sponsored an intensive three-day conference on November 3-5, 1971, at The University of Texas, bringing together a select group of Mexican American scholars to work toward such a philosophy of education. Prior to the conference these scholars, representing the areas of history, anthropology, bilingualism, sociology, political science, education research, psychology and cultural arts, prepared position papers and sent them for analysis under suggested guidelines to selected Mexican American educational leaders, who, in small group sessions at the conference, reacted to the papers. Based on these reactions, the authors then revised their papers for this publication.

Adelante: An Emerging Design for Mexican American Education is divided into three sections. The first contains two introductory papers concerning the general topic of education for the Mexican American. The second section begins with a paper by the editor on specific problems of the Mexican American child. This is followed by the eight main position papers regarding Mexican American education seen in the light of the particular disciplines mentioned above. Each paper is preceded by a short preface by the editor and followed by a list of the panel members together with their reactions.

The final section contains a bibliographic guide to current literature on the Mexican American, as well as a directory of resource persons in Mexican American education.

By way of parenthesis, it should be mentioned that an additional paper was prepared by Professor Nicolás C. Vaca of the University of California at Santa Cruz. This paper, on sociological implications for Mexican American education, was presented and critiqued at the conference; but due to an overcrowded schedule and prior commitments Professor Vaca was unable to revise it for publication and felt that the original version was not suitable for inclusion.[1]

In recent years, increased political awareness among Mexican Americans has heightened the demand for governmental agencies and other public institutions to become more responsive to their social and economic needs. Although the doors of educational institutions in this country have been opened through federal legislation, many educators still know little about the Mexican American and his problems. This book represents an attempt by Mexican American scholars to help their fellow educators better understand the Mexican American, and it hopefully will be of benefit to federal as well as local administrators of educational programs, teachers, teacher trainers and students preparing to teach Mexican American children. A second but most important audience for the book is the Mexican American community itself, since it is the expression of responsible scholars concerning the educational needs of their community.

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[1] The panel members who discussed Professor Vaca's paper are listed at the end of the preface (see pp. 4 and 5).

Panel members who discussed the paper presented by Professor Nick C. Vaca:

Panel Coordinator:	Rupert Trujillo, Director Teacher Corps New Mexico State University
Recorder:	Felix Daniel Pérez-Majul Prairie View Teacher Corps Flatonia Independent School District
Panel Members:	Antonio Esquibel Cross-Cultural Specialist, Teacher Corps Southern Colorado State College
	Virginia Reyes Kramer Administrative Assistant, Teacher Corps University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
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Special gratitude is due Dr. William L. Smith, Acting Deputy Commissioner for the National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems, who, as Acting Teacher Corps Director, encouraged and made possible the conference entitled "Toward a Philosophy of Education for the Mexican American." Dr. Smith gave his administration's top priority to this project and provided me with much encouragement and counsel during the planning stages.

Much of this project's success must be credited to the members of the conference planning committee, who gave generously of themselves to insure the success of the conference: Dr. John Aragón, Dr. Tomás Arciniega, Dr. David Ballesteros, David Burriel, Dr. José Cárdenas, Gilbert Chávez, Dr. Rudy Córdova, Professor Rafael Estupinián, Dr. Simón González, Dr. Rupert Trujillo, Dr. Mari-Luci Ulibarrí. Much credit at the planning stage, too, goes to John Bing for his help in organizing the conference.

I am indebted also to Dr. Frederick Williams, Director of the Center for Communication Research here at The University of Texas at Austin. His encouragement and assistance as well as his advice

and counsel have contributed much to the success of this project. Thanks go to Steve Alcalá for his patience in designing the art work, to Gib Devine for his help in recording the conference proceedings, to the Teacher Corps interns who served as recorders, and to the Teacher Corps directors who served as panel coordinators.

A special appreciation goes to the Technical Assistance Project staff: Dennis Blosser, my assistant; Lawrence L. Richard, S.J., editorial assistant; Nick Valenzuela, Benito Reséndiz, Keith Huntsman, Kathleen Fenton, student research associates; Sylvia Cantú and Mary Louise Tovar, secretaries. Without their competent and dedicated help, the realization of this volume would have been an impossibility.

Gratitude is expressed to the conference participants who contributed generously of their time to the success of this project.

Above all, the greatest credit must be given to the authors, who prepared papers for the critical analysis of their peers before presenting them in finished form.

Manuel Reyes Mazón

A CHALLENGE FOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: AN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

Simón González, Ph.D.
University of California at Los Angeles

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Simón González, Assistant to the Chancellor at the University of California at Los Angeles, has devoted his entire career to education, filling administrative positions both here in the United States and in South America. Most recently he has been active in the National Education Task Force de La Raza, which he is now serving as chairman. The Task Force enthusiastically endorsed the Conference Toward a Philosophy of Education for the Mexican American, and Dr. González consented to give the introductory address, which stated the challenge set before the members of the conference and which is reproduced here in its totality.

A CHALLENGE FOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: AN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

Simón González, Ph.D.

People of Mexican descent residing in the United States have, during the last few years, begun to articulate their needs and to vehemently protest the social, political, and economic injustices perpetrated against them both by individuals and by institutions. The glare of public opinion coupled with civil rights legislation has, to a significant degree, facilitated the courageous efforts of many individuals to promote changes essential to the well-being of our ethnic group. The task has not been easy, and it is far from complete. But inroads have been made toward destroying the stereotypes and eliminating the racist practices that have kept a great majority of our population in abject poverty and conditions of servitude. Among our major concerns have been employment practices, housing, health, political representation, education, and legislation.

On previous occasions we have amply discussed the abuses of power, the apathy of men and women in responsible positions, and their appalling ignorance of our culture and unique problems. The task before us now is to determine if it is feasible, or indeed possible, to develop a philosophy that can be used in the education of Mexican Americans; if it is possible, we want to move expeditiously in that direction. Can the many differences among us, differences in social and historical background, economic status, political interests and personal goals be subordinated to successfully attain such an objective?

As educators we are familiar with studies concerning human needs. Do the psychological needs of Chicano children differ significantly from those of other boys and girls? For example, in homes where the extended family is found, how is the critical area of social learning affected? How are the developmental stages through which a child passes different in the Mexican American family?[1] If they differ from stages through which other children proceed, what are the implications for a philosophy of education? Further, we know the parallel that exists between bilingualism and cognitive style. A sense of urgency requires that we define the variables involved and indicate how a new educational philosophy can provide a better education for Chicanos.

We are familiar with the values of the dominant culture and the values of the Hispanic-Indian-Mexican culture. To what extent are the values of each group related to socio-economic status rather than to ethnicity? How do metropolitan residence and increased income affect the retention or loss of traditional values?

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[1] Fernando Peñaloza, "Mexican Family Roles," Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 30, No. 4, November, 1968.

Notwithstanding the strong ties of language, religion and values that unite our people, we are cognizant of the immense diversity found in our communities. Historic differences among residents of California, New Mexico and Texas and their continued geographic isolation have resulted in the development of certain unique characteristics in each sub-group. Additionally, although a significant proportion of our population is to be found in the lower socio-economic levels, hundreds of thousands are members of families headed by small businessmen and entrepreneurs. Can a philosophy of education be conceived that will encompass the breadth that such diversity demands?

The scholars and educators gathered here possess the essential academic and experiential background for a thorough understanding of the unique characteristics of our ethnic group. The insights that we have developed come from long years of enduring the abuses of racism, from rigorous study of teaching, learning and social change, and from diligent efforts in community work. We perceive the issues and the problems in ways that are difficult for most other people to perceive and can bring to bear a new dimension not heretofore considered in public education.

Only recently has it been possible for us to consider the type of conference we are holding here. Only recently have Mexican Americans been appointed to positions of responsibility in social and educational institutions. Only recently have we had access to the resources necessary to consider an undertaking of this magnitude. We must, therefore, take full advantage of this opportunity to find solutions to the educational concerns of our disenchanted Chicano youth and provide guidance to educational institutions seeking to make fundamental curricular and administrative changes to better meet the needs of our children and youth.

The Needs of Mexican American Children

What are these needs? To a very great extent they are similar to the needs of any other children. It is imperative that Chicano boys and girls acquire the basic skills of reading, writing and computation. They need to be placed in learning situations that will develop their ability to think critically, to analyze problems, to consider alternatives, to reach satisfactory conclusions and make generalizations that can be useful in the resolution of more complex problems. One might consider it superfluous to mention the need for instruction in the basic skills and the teaching of critical thinking. Yet, a cursory examination of our population reveals that the schools have failed to meet these needs. Individualized instruction, without which these educational goals cannot be met, requires teachers with capabilities that many do not possess plus a vast array of instructional materials. The problem is compounded when one considers that present financial constraints are forcing administrators to increase class size, limit staff-development programs, and reduce curricular-materials purchases.

The Mexican American child must be assisted in internalizing values and attitudes that will enhance the development of his personality and character. We recognize that life in a culture of poverty exposes many of our children to an environment where attitudes and values that are detrimental to this well-being are highly admired. Where this is true, the school must provide positive role models and identification figures from their ethnic background and assist the children in emulating behavior patterns that will lead to optimum growth and development.

A final need of the Chicano child is the acquisition of knowledge, the cognition without which problem-solving becomes simply a trial and error process. School administrators are beginning to understand that a significant proportion of our Chicano student population can best acquire the cognitive aspects of the curriculum when our bilingual/bicultural background is taken into account. Although the southwestern states have at long last begun to approve legislation permitting instruction in Spanish, this is being used in far too many instances simply as a temporary measure subordinate to the goal of increasing proficiency in the English language. Bilingual education must not be permitted to become a compensatory-education activity. Instruction in Spanish can play a vital role in the learning of concepts, in the acquisition of data indispensable for the learner in efficient problem-solving, and in the development of pride in ethnic background and cultural heritage. This has serious implications for curriculum development, personnel recruitment, staff training, administrative policies, instructional materials, and community participation in the decision-making process.

Values and Attitudes

The matter of attitudes and values requires further explication. It has been the belief of the typical ethnocentric educator that Anglo Americans are the only possessors of the values essential to living in our democracy. It is imperative that we help them understand clearly that Mexican American people have not only as high a regard for the dignity of the individual and respect for human beings as other Americans, but that we also adhere to these values in everyday life to a very great degree. Honesty, integrity, and responsibility are virtues that are learned early in life. "Cumplir con su palabra" and "sentido de responsabilidad" are phrases heard by Mexican American children during their formative years and taught by parental example.

Administrators and teachers need to recognize that many of the values rapidly eroding in American life continue to exert considerable influence in the behavior of people of Mexican descent. Respect toward others, responsibility to the family, cooperative effort, the dignity of work, the importance of thrift, respect for law and order, and faith in the future are today very much a part of our ethos. Indeed, our survival amidst the hostility we have endured would not have been possible without these values.

We must find ways of helping teachers to reinforce these values in the schools.[2] This means that teachers must acquire a vastly different orientation from the one which prevails in most of our schools today. Chicano scholars and educators must participate actively in exploring the direction this orientation should take.

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[2] Los Angeles City Schools, The Teaching of Values: An Institutional Guide for Kindergarten, Grades I-14. Division of Instructional Services, Publication No. GC-15, 1966.

Access to Higher Education

Traditionally, admission to institutions of higher education has been based exclusively on achievement and aptitude as measured by standardized tests. This practice clearly discriminated against the minority student inasmuch as academic success and skills required for high performance on tests at the secondary level have been shown to be intimately associated with middle socio-economic status. In 1968, according to a study by the Bureau of the Census, a family with an income over $15,000 with one or more college-age children was five times as likely to include a full-time college student as was a similar family with an income under $3,000.[3] Thus, it is not surprising that the number of Chicano college students has been exceedingly low. Recently, a few institutions have begun to recognize the fact that an individual from a bilingual/bicultural background brings to the academic scene a sensitivity and a cultural awareness urgently needed by professional people in our contemporary society.

There is also a growing awareness that access to higher education must be facilitated for ethnic minorities and that colleges and universities must take the initiative in organizing and promoting programs and policies to correct present inequities.[4] Improved teacher-training programs, active recruitment, summer activities, tutorial assistance, reading clinics, adequate financial support, and ethnic studies can contribute directly to increasing the number of Mexican Americans in higher education.

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[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census, "School Enrollment: October 1968 & 1967." Current Population Reports, No. 190, 1969, Table 13, p. 33.

Research

An educational philosophy for the instruction of Mexican Americans requires concerted attention to the area of research. The paucity of data regarding our ethnic group requires that we increase our demands that institutions of higher learning address themselves to this need and also provide opportunities for Chicano graduate students to gain vitally needed experience by participating as research assistants.

Numerous areas of study appear to be critical to a thorough understanding of the Mexican American student and how he learns. Our cultural distinctiveness is stressed when we point to the need for different teaching strategies and curricula. If cultural diversity does in fact influence the learning style of children, we must be ready to support this position with evidence obtained through rigorous research. Social learning also must be meaningfully influenced by a culturally diverse background. But where are the studies showing how and why Chicanos come to school with different learning sets due to differences in social learning? Other areas of urgently needed research include differential reinforcement patterns, transfer of training and motivation as related to a bicultural existence.

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[4] The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, A Chance to Learn (New York: McGraw - Hill Book Co., March, 1970), p. 21-22.

The National Education Task Force de La Raza

In April, 1970 a small group of Mexican American students, community leaders and educators from throughout the United States organized the National Education Task Force de La Raza for the purpose of addressing particular problems related to the education of Chicanos. We have conducted a series of training institutes in Texas, Colorado, New Mexico and California to encourage and guide community leaders in obtaining quality education for Mexican American children. We have conferred with officials in the U. S. Office of Education on numerous occasions and obtained their support for our goals. We have identified and recruited Mexican Americans for leadership positions in the field of education. Consultants with expertise in bilingual/bicultural education, counseling and guidance, and school administration help our fellow Mexican Americans initiate needed innovations.

As a consequence of the overwhelming success of these efforts, we recently submitted a proposal for $1,500,000 to the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, to expand the services of the Task Force. We have been informed that we will soon receive an initial $100,000 with which we will develop plans to establish regional offices at Sacramento State College, with Professor Steven Arvizu as Chairman; at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, with Dr. John Aragón serving as Chairman; and at the Edgewood Independent School District, with Dr. José Cárdenas as Chairman. A fourth regional office in the midwest, possibly at the University of Illinois, will also be established. Our headquarters will remain at UCLA. Each regional office will have its own consultants, consisting of Mexican American students, community leaders and educators residing in the region. As these offices evolve, many of you will undoubtedly be requested to serve as consultants by the Regional Chairman. We trust that you will find it possible to lend your support.

We of the National Education Task Force de La Raza have been pleased to participate with Mr. Mazón in the planning of this conference, and it is a distinct pleasure to take part now in the conference itself. Teacher Corps, educators and community leaders everywhere, as well as the Task Force, need the benefit of the papers we will review as well as the conclusions and recommendations we present.

Conclusion

The violence, the burnings, the walkouts, the riots, and all the other negative manifestations of dissidence that we abhor in the barrio have been the consequence of insensitivity and lack of responsiveness of men and institutions to the needs and concerns of the Chicano. The positions many of us occupy in the educational hierarchy are attributable in large measure to the recognition that continued turmoil could eventually destroy not only the schools, but our entire society. We all have a crucial role to play.

We must maintain credibility with the youth and adults in the barrio and in addition articulate the educational issues in terms that are comprehensible to those who hold the power to effect institutional change. It is the need to coalesce the concerns of these disparate groups that has brought us here today. The research papers to be presented at this conference and their objective analysis by panel members and other participants will contribute to the expanding fund of knowledge that will guide us as we endeavor to develop a viable philosophy of education for the instruction of Mexican Americans.

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REMARKS ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Rudy Córdova, Ph.D.

Deputy Director of Teacher Corps

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Córdova has devoted his entire career to education and the improvement of educational systems through the training of teachers and administrators. He has served as an administrator at the elementary and higher education levels, where he has been instrumental in introducing materials reflecting the needs of children in the different economic levels of society. While directing the urban Teacher Corps project in Los Angeles, he also served on the faculty of the Graduate School of Education as a coordinator of field activities for the Urban Policy and Planning Program at UCLA. Dr. Córdova also acted as a program analyst with the Teacher Corps Assistance Project at The University of Texas at Austin and more recently has taken the post of deputy director of national Teacher Corps programs.

REMARKS ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Rudy Córdova, Ph.D.

The conference of Chicano professionals which resulted in this volume should serve as ample testimony to the fact that we are both willing and able to provide the necessary leadership for the solution of our educational problems as well as the needed guidance to others who share our concern for the proper education of our children. Individually, each one of us represents a source of knowledge, power and energy that may have some impact on our local situation; but together we represent a considerable body of knowledge capable of changing the course of education for our people. It is my sincere hope that the task to which we directed our energies in the conference may produce a better insight into the problems of educating Mexican American children and bring us closer to a workable solution to the many problems which confront teachers who are genuinely concerned with doing a better job.

How does one go about expressing the thoughts and feelings of a diverse group when even within a family unit it is difficult to reach a consensus? What turns an idea into a philosophy which large groups of people agree reflects their thinking? How does one draw from his experiential background those factors reflective of the thinking of people with similar backgrounds? At what point does one judge research relevant to the problem at hand?

Needless to say, the task assigned to the gentlemen who wrote the position papers was in a sense insurmountable, but it cannot be said that they didn't rise to the occasion. They have put their best efforts and ideas up to the scrutiny of a highly critical group. In the education world I have not seen too many writers who have submitted their papers to as rigorous and critical a treatment as these men have.

How does Teacher Corps address itself to this emerging philosophy? What are the directions which Teacher Corps might take in light of it?

Teacher Corps is not and never was intended to be a panacea for all that ails the training of teachers. That front line is much too broad to be attacked by a single organization. But it does provide a vehicle which, if properly used, can bring educators closer to a realization of the vastness of the problem and enable them to focus attention upon those factors which we judge important for the proper education of our children. Each Teacher Corps project represents a separate and distinct approach to the training of teachers. Each project should be responsive to the needs of the area or community which it serves. The success of Teacher Corps is merely a reflection of the successes of each project! Teacher Corps attempts to put together the efforts of local schools and communities to better focus on the educational needs of children in their area. It seeks to establish a cooperative coalition of those people more directly concerned with the kinds of teachers being prepared to teach in their schools.

I am concerned, however, with the fact that in a great number of instances we have developed very good "process people" who have only a vague idea of what the process should lead to. We have at times been used as the "lid" or "quieting force" to answer the needs and demands of the people. We may also be guilty of furthering the development of "process people" or enhancing the position of theoriticians who would find it more convenient to theorize about a problem than to face it squarely and deal with solutions for such problems. An airplane mechanic need not be able to fly a plane to be a good mechanic, because that part of the process which he is concerned with does not require him to be able to fly; but I am sure that he would be a much better mechanic if he would have to fly that piece of machinery which he works with. It becomes a simple matter of relating what he is doing to the ultimate reason for his existence. To use the term Teacher Corps interns use, we must do what is relevant, relevancy in this case being improved learning for the Mexican American child.

So I see Teacher Corps searching for and bringing into the field of teaching men and women who can relate to the Mexican American child and who understand fully the part they have to play in the developmental phases of a human life. The demands on these people are not easy to cope with because they must be capable of responding not only to the needs of children, but also to the needs of the community in an understanding and sympathetic way; and, more important, they must be excellent mechanics and have a grasp of the total process with a keen awareness of the end product. It may be that this type of expertise is hard to achieve, but Teacher Corps believes that an attempt at solving the problem is much more viable than mere talk about it.

I do not believe that Teacher Corps programs have revealed their full potential. Even if a project were complying literally with all the guidelines set down by Washington, it would fall short of fully achieving the ultimate goal for which Teacher Corps was established.

What does Teacher Corps do that is different in training teachers?

1. It attempts to recruit individuals who are interested in working with and in schools serving primarily economically deprived children.

   These individuals volunteer to teach in economically deprived areas; this is different from being assigned there after the top jobs have been exhausted.

2. It stresses competency-based education. Simply stated, this places more emphasis on what is required to graduate than on admission standards. Individuals must be able to achieve greater competencies and show this rather than acquire a certain amount of credit hours.

3. It requires interns to become a part of the community in which they are training by living in the community and engaging in activities which bring the community and the school closer together.

4. It attempts to provide courses which are more relevant to the needs of those teaching Mexican

American children than the regular courses generally provided.

5. It recruits and trains non-education majors.

6. It recruits more from minorities and the poor.

7. It attempts to recruit more males for service in elementary schools.

8. It emphasizes increased community participation and decision making.

9. It stresses the need for university instruction in response to expressed needs of the schools.

10. It attempts to provide training from instructors with first-hand knowledge of low-income schools and communities or to expose instructors to such experience.

11. It insists upon the inclusion of a major training component for interns and regular educational personnel for the identification, diagnosis, and prescription of individualized activities for children with learning and behavioral problems.

12. It emphasizes community-based education which touches upon parity: the deliberate, mutual, collaborative planning, decision-making, and evaluation by those giving the services and those receiving the services.

These are but a few of the basic characteristics of a Teacher Corps program.

Implications for Teacher Corps Programs in the Southwest

Each one of the papers presented in this book has either further reinforced what might be called Teacher Corps Philosophy or opened new vistas which might be examined by already existing Teacher Corps programs.

Steven Arvizu's *Anthropological Implication in the Education of the Mexican American* is a thought-provoking documentary which touches on the cultural biases of different groups of people. To the teacher intern it should open a new door in the search to better understanding the Mexican American child.

The topic of change and the teacher as a change agent should be of special interest to the Teacher Corps member. This ties in with the permeating idea that teacher interns can be agents for change within a school system.

Mari-Luci Ulibarrí's Bilingualism and Intellectual Development addresses itself to the need for training more bilingual teachers to teach Mexican American children. She stresses the desire to train not only teachers who are bilingual but bicultural as well; we can thus envision a multicultural approach in the training of children in order to encompass the culturally complex society in which our children have to live.

Manuel Ramírez's Current Educational Research: The Basis for a New Philosophy for Educating Mexican Americans very succinctly directs us to the need for first-hand experience in dealing with parents and children. It stresses the importance of the family and the community in the education of the child. The research in progress at U.C. Riverside should shed more light on the whole issue of community-based education as well as the whole area of cultural pluralism which was examined at the Southern Colorado State College Conference during the summer of 1971. We may find here a real source of information for further changes in our teacher-training modules.

José Cárdenas's Politics and Education points out that there is a need for the teacher to have a grasp of the implications of the political scene on the school. Perhaps the whole idea of the politics of education should be incorporated into the training program for interns. I have always felt that interns as well as experienced teachers have very little knowledge of the whole spectrum of school organization and how it affects their performance. With Teacher Corps's efforts at bringing about change, a knowledge of the politics of change seems imperative.

Rafael Estupinián's A Tri-Partite Development for the Cultural Arts in the Education of the Mexican American directs our attention to a varied background which can be the focal point for instruction in the dances, the music, the folklore, and the literature of the Mexican American. There must be encouragement on the part of the teacher not only to retain the child's involvement in the arts, but also to help develop and nourish those natural artistic talents which the child brings with him to school.

Tomás Arciniega's The Ethnocentric Response of Public Education to the Chicano: Implications for School Administrators brings out a problem which the great majority of Teacher Corps programs are facing: how to deal with a school system that is either insensitive to the needs of the Mexican American student or that has no desire to make the changes necessary to become more effective. If school administrators are not convinced of the need for change in their schools, Teacher Corps's efforts to bring about change may well be futile. We still do not have the answer to the question as to how we might best produce the changes necessary to bring about improved teaching and learning in the LEA.

Uvaldo Palomares's The Psychology of the Mexican American lends credence to the use of video tape as a training aid in the development of sensitive and understanding teachers. It emphasizes the importance of teacher attitudes in the performances of children.

Julian Nava's A Historical Perspective on the Mexican American reinforces the need for special history courses for interns taught by knowledgeable historians. It also points out the need for structuring new courses to supplement or replace irrelevant courses still found in college and university catalogues. It brings out the need for updating social science instruction at the elementary level.

The ideas expounded by the papers presented in this volume will provide us with the kind of information which should be of great value to those Teacher Corps projects designed to train teachers for schools with predominant Mexican American enrollments. The translation of these ideas into workable learning modules, then, becomes the task of individual projects. I must, however, bring forth the admonition that "de lo dicho a lo hecho, hay largo trecho!"[1]

If the old adage is true that "coming together is progress and working together is success," then it must be said that we have succeeded. We must not, however, react unfavorably to this book because our points of view have possibly not been explicitly expressed, but rather we should be challenged to think through our own philosophies and attempt to tie them in with the ideas expressed here so that we can truly have an emerging philosophy which may be reflective of many points of view.

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[1] "From the word to the action is a long stretch!"

In the final analysis, let us remember that this represents another effort at bringing together some of the Chicanos who currently influence the thinking of people in this country. This is only a beginning, truly just a step toward a Philosophy of Education for the Mexican American.

EDUCATION AND THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Manuel Reyes Mazón
The University of Texas at Austin

EDUCATION AND THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Manuel Reyes Mazón

Introduction

Just as there is a variety of backgrounds among English-speaking Americans, a similar variety exists among Spanish-speaking Americans. Centuries of interaction between the Mexican's two main culture components, the Indian and the Spanish, created a fusion that nevertheless manifested regional differences. Later on, the arrival in the Southwest of English-speaking Americans and immigrants from southern, eastern, and northern Europe added to the ethnic blend of the Mexican Americans, and the already complex mixture of root cultures was further modified by the relative geographical isolation of one group from another. This resulted in such variety that Mexican Americans differ not only from state to state, but even from town to town.

When the English-speaking Protestant American (who often considered himself the only real American) arrived in the Southwest, he found a people whose language was Spanish, whose religion was Catholic, and whose culture was well established. To him this presented an obstacle to the proclaimed "manifest destiny" of the infant United States, and a barrier grew up between him and the Mexican American. Whatever the causes, the tragedy is that the Mexican American became a second-class citizen in the mind of the English-speaking American, whose founding fathers had nevertheless possessed the enlightenment to dream of equality.

Throughout this book reference to this ethnic population varies from Mexican American to Chicano. Prolonged discussions have been held by Mexican Americans throughout the country concerning whether they should call themselves Mexican American, Spanish American, Spanish surname, Latin American, Latino Hispano, and so on. In a 1965-1966 study,[1] most people interviewed in Los Angeles wanted to be called Mexican or Mexican American. In Albuquerque the preferred name was Spanish American, and in San Antonio those interviewed called themselves Latino. Thus, preference in names varies from city to city. Present-day youth movements have brought the term Chicano to the fore. Armando Rodriguez refers to this term as "our favorite nickname for fellow Mexican Americans."[2] To some the word has implied the vulgar, the common, the unsophisticated. It is this writer's belief that the term is a symbol of the Mexican American's identity and of his own changing attitude toward it. Whereas formerly this identity may have been the cause of a negative self-image, the Chicano's emerging consciousness of the value of his culture now gives him pride in that same identity. The word Chicano, formerly somewhat pejorative, is now becoming the preferred term in the Mexican American community. We have seen the same phenomenon in the case of the word Black in the Negro community.

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[1] Joan W. Moore and Alfred Cuellar, Mexican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 8.

[2] Armando M. Rodriguez, "Speak Up, Chicano," Mexican Americans in the United States: A Reader, ed., John H. Burma (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman, 1970), p. 136.

The most common name for the English-speaking American in the Southwest is Anglo, and this term will appear frequently throughout the book.

The Mexican American and the School

One of the great problems which has resulted from the encounter of the Chicano and Anglo cultures is the fact that one has become the acceptable culture and the other a stepchild. Nowhere has this had more consequences than in the realm of education.

Education in this country has been education in and for the Anglo culture. The Chicano was free to "better himself" by becoming educated in that culture, all too often with great emotional and intellectual strain.

An example of this is the case of Sylvia, a normally intelligent six-year-old Spanish-speaking child. Submerged in a typical Anglo-oriented first grade, Sylvia runs the behavioral gamut from sullen fear to violent agression. Since she has little comprehension of what is being said (although she seems to have a adequate Spanish vocabulary) and scant familiarity with the experiences that are common to her peers, Sylvia's learning performance lags far behind that of the other children, and her behavior is often disruptive and destructive. If she can finally adjust to the learning situation of a culture different from her own, she will have a chance. Otherwise, she shows little promise of having anything but a severely limited education.

Education in the Chicano culture has not until very recently become the object of serious study. The notion of "equal educational opportunity" is deeply rooted in the concept of a common curriculum for every child. This curriculum assumes that every child must learn the same thing, at the same time, and in the same manner. Furthermore, everyone's learning is measured in the same way and by the same instruments.

Unhappily, the fact is not always taken into account that the Mexican American child comes to school with a different linguistic, cultural, experiential and conceptual background from that of his English-speaking peer. The school at once discourages his use of the Spanish language (indeed only a few years ago speaking Spanish was forbidden) and few teachers are trained to communicate in that language.

Once in school the Mexican American child is placed in a basal reading program. He is expected to begin learning to read in English before he acquires some of the most basic concepts underlying prerequisite abilities needed for beginning reading. No real effort is made to assess his linguistic capabilities, his perceptual ability, his physical and educational maturity as well as his attitude, all areas so vital to early and subsequent success in reading.

The detrimental effect of this type of inadequate program can be seen in the case of Rafael, Juan, and Benito, three children with limited English vocabularies. Aware they had been labeled "slow learners," they believed that their efforts were useless and that they would never catch up; they thus lagged further and further behind their classmates. (It was only when their teacher realized that the boys should be allowed to proceed with the standard curriculum at their own pace while working intensively on basic English vocabulary that they were able to make significant progress.)

The Language

The Spanish of the Mexican American is characterized by a variety of dialects, each unique to its population center, but which can be identified generally as the Spanish of the southwestern United States. These dialects have usually been influenced by English and resemble linguistically the Spanish spoken in northern Mexico.[3]

Because his language is basically Spanish and is built upon the Spanish sound system, a number of phonetic difficulties often beset the Mexican American in his attempts to learn English; and any effective reading program for Mexican American children will take these factors into account. For example: the Chicano child will often substitute /čuw/ for *shoe* or /šer/ for *chair*, because the Spanish sound system does not contrast /š/ and /č/.[4] He will often say /beriy/ for *very* because in Spanish the two vowels /b/ and /v/ are often pronounced identically. Suppression of initial consonants, as in the substitution of *ónde* for *dónde* and *amá* for *mamá*, often takes place among Spanish speakers; and this phenomenon will carry over into English. Lastly, only five vowel phonemes are used in Spanish, whereas about sixteen are used in English.

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[3] George W. Ayer, "Language and Attitudes of the Spanish-speaking Youth of the Southwestern United States," Applications of Linguistics: Selected Papers of the 2nd International Congress of Applied Linguistics, eds., G. E. Perren and J. L. M. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

The grammatical structures of the two languages also have some pronounced differences. The question *where did you come from?*, for example, when translated is ¿*de dónde vienes*? (*from where come you*?) The verb-noun pattern of *es un hombre* must be equated with the pronoun-verb-noun pattern of *he is a man*. *El sombrero negro* (*the black hat*), when literally translated is *the hat black*. ¿*Está abierta la puerta*? (*is the door open*?) literally translated reads *is open the door*?, etc. The use of the double negative is very common in Spanish; hence you will often hear Mexican American children say *There's not nothing to eat* as they attempt to translate *No hay nada para comer* (*There is nothing to eat*).

Awareness of the language the child brings to school and the interference that it will give rise to in his learning English will provide the teacher with more understanding of the child's difficulties and enable her to give him more adequate instruction.

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[4] Interestingly, this English distinction often causes a feedback error in the Mexican American's Spanish: for example, he will often say *mushasho* for *muchacho*.

Oral Language Assessment

The above are examples of general difficulties that the Spanish-speaking child will face in English. How does one know what obstacles the individual child will be subject to? Horn enumerates four factors which contribute to the failure or retardation of the linguistically different learner:

1. Widespread ignorance on the part of practitioners concerning principles of language learning, for example, the erroneous belief that standard speech is attained by the memorization of rules of grammar.
2. Frequent introduction of the decoding phase of initial reading instruction before adequate oral language development has occurred.
3. Inadequate or nonexistent tests for assessing phonological and syntactical problems and oral language fluency in American English.
4. Teachers' inability or failure to diagnose and remedy oral language deviations that seriously inhibit learning to read in standard American English.[5]

Passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1969 brought about a rush of crash programs to educate children in two languages. The immediate problem this presented for the Mexican American child was the practice of labelling him "bilingual" for the purposes of second-language instruction. Because his name was García or because he spoke "broken English," it was assumed that his comfortable language was Spanish, and no real assessment was made of his capabilities in either Spanish or English. Consequently, many children assigned to classes in Spanish were not sufficiently fluent in that language to enable them to participate.

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[5] Thomas D. Horn, Reading for the Disadvantaged, Problems of Linguistically Different Learners. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1970) p. 7.

The need for oral language assessment prior to instruction in a second language is clearly indicated. We must not continue to ignore this assessment prior to instruction and subsequent testing as language instruction progresses. Schools must map out a profile on each child showing his oral language capabilities at the beginning of school and at any given point in time along a continuum of projected language-learning objectives throughout his elementary years.

Cultural Sensitivity

Much has been written on the methodology of second-language teaching. Concepts such as desired terminal behavior, contrastive analysis, etc., are valuable items in the intellectual baggage that the second-language teacher must bring to the classroom and adapt to the situation there, and they are rightly part of a teacher-training program. But in addition to the skills required for teaching a second language, the teacher must have the sensitivity to understand the children themselves, and this means being aware not only of the child's language and its characteristics, but also of his community, his home and his culture.

For example, it was helpful to know that the frightened six-year-old girl mentioned earlier (page 3) lives with six other children and three adults in extreme poverty, and that her misbehavior at home is often met with painful physical punishment; or that a little boy, who has to be held over in the first grade because of absences, simply had to cry to be abetted with unjustified sick notes signed by his mother.

It is this awareness which is at the center of the CHCALT teacher-training sequence (see appendix) now being developed by the Technical Assistance Project in the Center for Communication Research at The University of Texas at Austin. It is this awareness which requires first of all the elaboration of a philosophy of education for the Chicano child, the purpose of the papers presented in this book. It is hoped that on the solid basis of this philosophy positive changes in the educational system might be made to bring about the possibility of true bicultural development for the Chicano.

Higher Education

But what about the Chicano youth of college age who is already disadvantaged because of the lack of an educational experience suited to his needs? Is there anything the colleges can do now to help him?

The Chicano faces two major obstacles in higher education: financial and academic. Frequently the Chicano student must work not only to support himself, but to help his family as well. Very often his going to college deprives the family of much-needed income. The scholarship, which would be of great practical help to him, is unavailable because of his inability to score highly enough on standardized tests.

Academically, the Chicano student comes to college with a background of twelve years of learning deficiencies. Note that often he has never been taught to speak English but to read it along with Anglo children who already spoke it; the poor results that came from this have, in turn, caused a lagging behind in school work in general; and in competition with his Anglo peers he has always come in last. This is all compounded by his cultural conflicts of home and school and adjustments to the Anglo world.

Can the college do anything to help the Chicano overcome these obstacles? All too often administrators have been reluctant to make changes lest academic standards be lowered. They rightly claim that the doors of the college are open to any student who meets their admission standards, but what they fail to grasp is the injustice of standards which have been designed for middle-class Anglos by middle-class Anglos. For example, the use of standardized tests as valid predictors of performance is often unfair to the linguistically different. By design these tests employ trickery in language which can be solved only by linguistically competent persons. For the Chicano who has to mentally manipulate language relationships it becomes a cruel joke. And yet success on such tests is one of the admission "standards" of many colleges. Thus the irony that in a society dedicated to equal opportunity for all there exist "standards" which effectively exclude many competent citizens from academic institutions.

What the colleges need are not lower standards, but better ones. Admission standards must be re-evaluated to reflect current knowledge about the linguistically and culturally different. In many cases, remedial work in one area or another will be indicated. But the bilingual and bicultural advantages that the student enjoys must also be taken into consideration so that he might be given credit for this and be able to build upon it. An accurate assessment of his language proficiency in both Spanish and English will determine what remedial work has to be undertaken in each case. From such a program would come many promising candidates for bicultural studies in the principal humanistic disciplines, and this would in turn have important effects on research as well as creativity in these fields.

The admirable principle on which American public education is founded, equal educational opportunity for all, is certainly acknowledged by every educator. Nevertheless there has been a discrepancy between the principle and the ability of vast numbers within minority groups to avail themselves of it. We presume and have evidence of open-mindedness and willingness to change on the part of our educators, and hence we offer these reflections by members of the Mexican American community in the hope that real and effective adaptation can be made in the educational process of the Mexican American child.

APPENDIX

COMMUNITY, HOME, CULTURAL AWARENESS AND LANGUAGE TRAINING

by

Manuel Reyes Mazón

In April, 1970, Teacher Corps Washington authorized the development of oral language assessment techniques as a competence that teacher corpsmen working with linguistically and culturally different children should have. This was done on the premise that a principal area of neglect in the schools has been oral language assessment prior to instruction, as well as subsequent oral language testing as instruction in language proceeds. The following priorities were established regarding test needs:

> Ability to determine an individual's competence in oral language whether he speaks a dialect of English or a language other than English.
>
> Ability to determine the degree of comprehension of both languages in the case of a bilingual child.
>
> Ability to determine an individual's competence in "classroom" English, a form of which will allow for the various dialects spoken in the United States.
>
> Ability to determine which language or dialect is the dominant language of the child.
>
> Ability to determine specific language characteristics of the child which require instructional attention.
>
> Ability to aid teachers and school administrators in determining the standard of language spoken in the school and the community.

A review of existing language tests led to the conclusion that they did not adequately identify the language characteristic of the linguistically and culturally different child and, therefore, were not helpful to the teacher in planning instruction, nor of help in determining the language learning potential of linguistically and culturally different children.

Studies earlier completed at The University of Texas at Austin on the Gloria and David Beginning English Series (No. 20, Test 6, Language Arts, Inc. Spanish-English) led to a more careful examination of that instrument. This indicated that the instrument was of use in assessing phonology, oral comprehension, aural comprehension and language dominance. It was, however, felt that a number of criteria relative to validity and reliability was needed before recommending the test for use in the training of corpsmen. To establish this, Teacher Corps contracted with Dr. Frederick Williams, Director of the Center for Communication Research at The University of Texas at Austin to research the instrument. The report entitled "Repetition as an Oral Language Assessment Technique" by Diana S. Natalicio and Frederick Williams shows almost 100 percent agreement among expert evaluators in the assessment of oral language, but there was no agreement among the evaluators in their prescription of instruction.

An advisory committee was formed to review plans for the use of the oral language assessment materials in light of the discrepancy between analysis and prescription reported in the research and to suggest alternate ways of using the materials. The committee met in Albuquerque, New Mexico on May 20, 1971.

The basic idea of oral language assessment was expanded to include a cultural awareness component reinforcing home-community-cultural language as a strategy to effect positive change. A training package known as

Community, Home, Cultural Awareness and Language Training (CHCALT) would be developed and oral language assessment would be a part of the package.

Planning began on CHCALT which includes some of the following ideas:

1. Philosophy of education for culturally and linguistically different
2. Cultural sensitivity
3. Special aspects of minority group education programs
4. Definition of self-concept and how this relates to minority group education
5. How language is a special dimension of the problem
6. How CHCALT proposes to use language assessment techniques as both a training strategy and a diagnostic tool in education
7. The types of language behavior objectives that might be designated for the classroom
8. The instructional strategies needed to fulfill these objectives
9. How all of these ideas must be carefully community-based
10. How change techniques prevail not only in the whole concept of the CHCALT program but in Teacher Corps
11. How the nature and implications of cultural pluralism relate to the project as well as to Teacher Corps

The Gloria and David material described in the Natalicio-Williams report and the sample tapes will be used for intern training. The emphasis will be on how language varies logically for different people. We are talking more about the capability of being sensitive to the language variation of the child, rather than putting a value judgment on it. In fact, the stress will be on how value judgments should be only relative things. That is, the "best" language is the language most apt for a particular speech situation. An early attempt will be made to see how the language materials may affect attitudes, particularly teachers' negative attitudes toward social and minority group dialects. Prior research in language attitudes by the Center for Communication Research (CCR) could be used as measurement techniques to see whether these materials have an effect on attitudes. If they do have effects on attitudes, we can then develop a measurement package that would be employed by trainers of the interns to see whether the interns' attitudes are affected by the tapes. Subsequently, the materials would be used by the interns to see whether they have effects on teachers in the field.

The language assessment materials provide a substantive basis for grouping children for particular instructional activities in classes. For example, some children who might be working on the possessive could be put into one group, and children who might work in something else could be put into another.

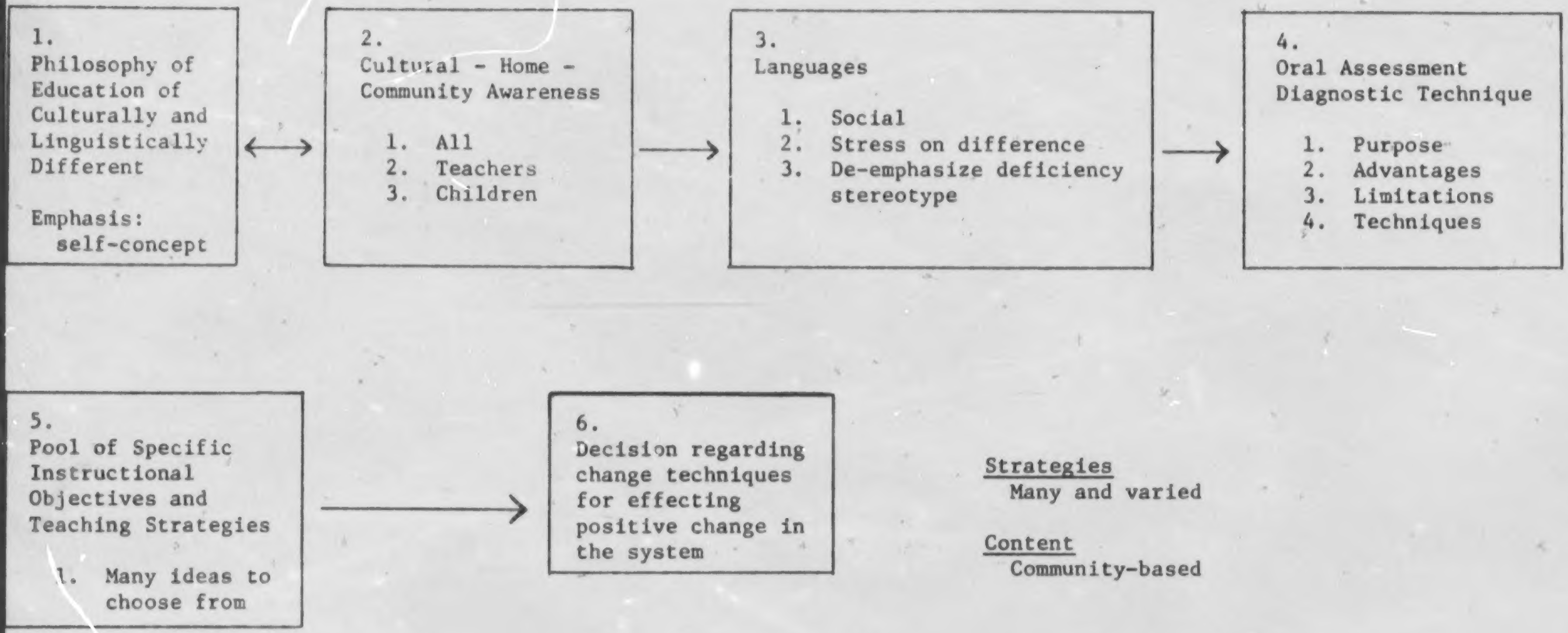
All of this presumes that there are stated, concrete goals in the language instruction of the children. Most would agree that one goal is that children are sensitive to the idea of language differences, and how language varies in being apt for different situations. However, care will be taken to consider where people are or might possibly be on the teaching of "standard" English. One feeling often expressed is that the only argument that does not have any massive counter-arguments is that a person should learn enough standard English in order to be able to learn to read without a great amount of difficulty. The idea of learning standard English in order to get good jobs raises at least two counter-arguments. One is nothing more than a symptom of the sicknesses of our society--that attitudes about language keep people from getting jobs. The other is that even if minority groups do learn standard English there still is, of course, prejudice in the job market. In short, one must be very careful of the type of reasons that are brought up, and how standard English is talked about. Goals might include favorable self-concept, positive attitudes about one's own languages and so on.

The Gloria and David materials are not a "test," but a diagnostic tool that can be used both in the training of teachers to learn more about language differences in children, and as a technique for actually working with children.

All phases of the project will be well-documented. A final goal is to develop a "package" which gives guidelines, materials, and procedures for achieving the goals in the CHCALT component.

The following diagram represents the CHCALT schematically:

Community, Home, Cultural Awareness and Language Training



1\.
Philosophy of Education of Culturally and Linguistically Different

Emphasis:
self-concept

2\.
Cultural - Home - Community Awareness

1. All
2. Teachers
3. Children

3\.
Languages

1. Social
2. Stress on difference
3. De-emphasize deficiency stereotype

4\.
Oral Assessment Diagnostic Technique

1. Purpose
2. Advantages
3. Limitations
4. Techniques

5\.
Pool of Specific Instructional Objectives and Teaching Strategies

1. Many ideas to choose from

6\.
Decision regarding change techniques for effecting positive change in the system

Strategies
Many and varied

Content
Community-based

Develop a specific component for reinforcing home-community-cultural language as a move to effect positive change.

The project might be known as the Cultural-Home-Community-Awareness & Language Training Project (CHCALT)

CHCALT ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMPLICATION IN
THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Professor Steven F. Arvizu

Sacramento State College

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY

STEVEN F. ARVIZU

Professor Arvizu presents here a well-documented and informative exposé of the science of anthropology and the way it can be used to contribute to the education of the Mexican American. In pointing out the various branches of the science, Professor Arvizu is careful to show how each branch he lists can apply to the Chicano, his culture, and his language. After this, practical suggestions are made concerning the training of teachers and the planning of schools and curricula in an effort to change existing situations to meet the needs that an anthropological study would indicate.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMPLICATION IN THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Professor Steven F. Arvizu

> Todos somos café con leche
> Algunos tenemos más café y otros
> tenemos más leche. Es decir que
> todos somos colegas. Estamos trabajando
> juntos investigando y buscando el
> desarrollo y el bien de todos.
> Y eso es nuestro gran desafío-
> nuestra tarea seria.
>
> (We are all a mixture of coffee and milk;
> some of us have more coffee, and others have
> more milk. What I mean to say is that
> we are all in this together even though
> we may each be different in our background,
> talents or interests. In other words, we are working
> together investigating and seeking the truth,
> and we are working for the development and
> good of everybody--the common good.
> Gentlemen, our great challenge is to work
> for the common good. This, then, is our
> serious assignment.)

TERMINOLOGY

Since each of us has had differing backgrounds of experience and therefore tends to perceive differently, it is in the interests of effective communication to establish general agreement as to terms used in this paper.

Mexican American: Saunders claims that "As a group they do have characteristics that distinguish them from the Anglo population. Physically, they are easily identifiable because of their common, but by no means uniform, genetic inheritance from the populations of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain and various North American Indian tribal groups. Socially, they possess a variety of combinations of cultural traits that can be traced to Spain or Mexico and that are not generally shared by Anglos. Psychologically, they tend to identify themselves as members of a distinct group and to be so identified by Anglos."[1] I prefer to define the Mexican American as a very heterogenous group which varies in physical characteristics, degree of acculturation and assimilation, socio-economic position, age, and linguistic orientation.

Spanish speaking: One who uses Spanish, which may range in quantity from minimal to extensive and which may range in quality according to the education and socio-economic status of the speaker, to communicate in his daily life. He may or may not be identified according to his geographical nationality. Mexicans, Latin Americans, and even "Gringos" can be Spanish speaking.

Migrant: One who migrates. Specifically used as a term to identify, in the southwestern U.S., the person (including students) who changes his residence several times during the year to follow the agricultural harvest seasons and seeks employment in agriculture. The person may or may not be Spanish speaking, Mexican American, American, etc.

American: "That which pertains to America, a native of America: in a restricted sense, one of the inhabitants of the United States, pertaining to the United States."[2] In California, usually used to differentiate White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant from the mainstream of United States culture and somehow separate from Mexican, Hispanic America, usually used to denote common bond of being born in the same hemisphere, i.e., North America, Central America, or South America.

Chicano: "A Chicano is a person who has become aware of his cultural heritage and the beauty and sophistication of being bilingual and bicultural, and (who) will no longer tolerate an inferior position in the Anglo monolingual and (mono) non-cultural environment. It is synonymous with a state of mind, a philosophy of 'we the people'."[3]

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[1] Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).

[2] Webster's Dictionary (Chicago: Consolidated Publisher's, 1962).

Culture: The ways of a people, including their music, art, customs, beliefs, traditions, literature, etc. A culture constitutes patterned ways of acting, talking, thinking, and feeling, becoming sufficiently uniform in a society and sufficiently different from those of other societies.

Language: A complex system of communication that evolves with the cultural experience of the people that uses it. It is a structured system of patterns and units of expression tied to patterns and units of content that is used to convey the experience and needs of a people.

Marginality: For one who is in a culture-contact situation, this is the ideal state in which one can eclectically pick and choose from the several cultures that pattern which most benefits him and use it effectively.

INTRODUCTION

This is a position paper dealing with anthropological implications for the education of Mexican Americans. Anthropology as a science is reviewed in an attempt to apply the different branches of the discipline to the educational dilemma of the Mexican American. A critical view of education, the Mexican American and anthropology is presented in this paper.

Past anthropological studies, similar to education research, have by design inadequately benefited the Mexican American. Inadequacy need not continue. Anthropology can be applied to the interests of the Mexican American in education. It is proposed that the science of the study of man can: (1) explain the validity of the Chicano way of life; (2) be useful as a content area in the curriculum; (3) improve teacher training; and (4) provide mechanisms by which we can study the culture of schools, all of which would benefit the Mexican American in the educational process. Understanding the concept of culture, the process of cultural change, and what happens when two cultures meet enables one to appreciate the impact and dynamics involved in the Mexican American situation in education. It provides the opportunity to influence constructively the culture of schools. Anthropology, then, is a tool which has been used to our detriment but can and must be used to our benefit.

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[3] Mario Soberanis, "On the Chicano," (Unpublished article, Sacramento State College, September, 1971).

I am a Chicano educator, teacher-trainer and somewhat of an anthropologist. What I say here is my opinion and impression--an eclectic view of the educational process and the Mexican American as I perceive them. My perceptions and analyses are open to question, as my background of experiences has produced patterns by which I am influenced, much in the same way as any investigator, educator or teacher is influenced by his cultural set. The difference here is that I am warning you that what is presented reflects what I have chosen to see, read, think, collect and write. It is no more legitimate nor less valid than that presented by other human creatures.

WHO IS FAILING?

There is little secret that the American educational system has failed to provide a successful school experience to many of its subjects. And it is even more obvious that low-income children and children from differing cultural backgrounds, including Chicanos, fail more as a group than most other groups of learners. It seems that the response of educators and social scientists, through their traditional problem orientation, has led many educators to concern themselves with the noted failure via study of the learner and his learning difficulty. This approach excludes the various other factors which influence learning in our culture of schools or school systems. In fact, many other elements must bear the burden of responsibility for the lack of success in education before it can justifiably be shifted to the shoulders of children. In this respect, academicians, including behavioral scientists, institutions of higher learning and teacher training, local educational agencies and practitioners in the field would do well to reassess their role and responsibility to low-income communities.

I wish to express a concern for the effectiveness of our educational system in meeting the needs of children, specifically those from the Spanish-speaking population of our country. I find the present situation in education for the Mexican American and other ethnic minority learners untenable. The literature and training produced by our institutions of higher learning have contributed over-generalized stereotypes and negative images within the minds of too many educators.

> Generalizations have instilled in the minds of most educators a picture of a typical Mexican American and a stereotype of a homogeneous folk culture. The product to this culture is usually seen by educators as a "standard ethnic child," almost pre-determined to failure in school and ultimately in general society. As one California junior high school principal put it, "The very nature of their culture, their present time orientation, their fatalistic attitude, being part of the total Latin culture almost prohibits their accepting the long-term rewards of the secondary schools."[4]

We are, out of ignorance, preparing more cultural destroyers than we are true teachers at our teacher-training institutions. But there are many others at whom we can critically look.

POWER OF THE PEN

Let us start with those who write about and do research on the culturally disadvantaged, Chicano, Black or whatever label best serves to isolate and subjugate. This includes behavioral scientists and anthropologists. One premise I hold is that cultural and social variation does exist among investigators. An individual's set of experiences contributes to the development of patterns of behavior which are unique. I must add that common experiences increase the probability of common patterns of behavior. With educators, the academic level is quite high. Most anthropologists have the stamp of approval of some graduate school, and some have been encouraged to conduct research on ethnic minorities. In a limited sense the Ph.D. in education insures an indoctrination on the value of statistics, empirical data and scientific objectivity. All of which Dr. Octavio Romano, a noted Chicano anthropologist, questions in his article, "Social Science, Objectivity and the Chicanos."[5] Agreeing with his questioning, let me "blow your minds," as those of the counter culture would say. I propose for your consideration that there is no such thing as scientific objectivity. We educators and social scientists, just as all other human beings, view the nature of particular groups we study through tinted glasses--glasses that are shaded by the nature of our particular culture, social group and background of experiences. Could it be that the very research design, selection and collection of data and "empirical" results of the research have been unconsciously or perhaps consciously filtered through patterns that are an intertwined part of our psyche, personality and entity?

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[4] Thomas Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), pp. 46-47.

Many of us pursue the truth in our own fashion. Such is our right. But, since the power of the pen is great, those who study and write about Mexican Americans must minimize the chances that their work will be abusive to those who are their subjects. I have been told that the "road to hell is paved with well-meaning people." I question not the presence of conscious malicious intentions; I do, however, question perpetuating myths out of ignorance. The responsibility of contemporary authors is great when one looks at the variety of inadequate and often misleading materials published on the Mexican American in the past.

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[5] Octavio Ignacio Romano-V., "Social Science, Objectivity and the Chicanos," El Grito, Fall 1970; IV; 1, pp. 4-16.

Research design and writing concerning education has also created a pattern that more often than not is detrimental to those being studied. Problem orientation leads to looking for the negative, failure, and conflict. Psychologists seem to overemphasize the negative in their approach to studying the individual or the group. The attitude of educators is often directly related to this kind of negative approach. One illustration of this is teacher attitudes toward bilingualism as a problem to be overcome rather than a potential to be developed. The study of cultural conflict of the Mexican American is yet another example in that it omits positive aspects of biculturalism.[6] It will take a lot of energy and creativeness to examine the positive attributes of one who is marginal in a constructive way--one who can with facility eclectically pick and choose from two different cultures that are useful to him.

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[6] L. Beberfall, "Some Linguistic Problems of Spanish-Speaking People of Texas," Modern Language Journal, February 1958, 42:87-90.

W. R. Holland, "Language Barrier as an Educational Problem of Spanish-Speaking Children," Exceptional Child, September 1960, 27:42-44.

Neal Justin, "Cultural Conflict and Mexican American Achievement," School and Society, January 1970, 98:2322, 27.

Unfortunately, positive-oriented studies of language and culture of the Mexican American are very limited.[7]

Using I.Q. tests on learners from a different cultural, economic or ethnic group makes about as much sense as my presenting this paper completely in Spanish to an audience of monolingual Anglos. What would it prove? To measure and rationalize conclusions about innate characteristics of ethnic groups via parametric instruments demonstrates a great deal of tautology. The repetitious studies using invalid tools are meaningless to me.

Another practice I cannot endorse is that which encourages educators to believe that the quantity of references cited and quoted establishes the validity of the concept or conclusion. As in the case of I.Q. tests, many psychometric and parametric instruments are inadequate for measurement. Can low intellectual ability on the part of Mexican Americans be proven by the tons of research based on negative and/or inadequate instruments? No, for they serve only to build the negative image and stereotype used by many egocentric and ethnocentric individuals. I know of a teacher who explained that the "genetically inferior Mexican Americans as evidenced by I.Q. tests are a result of the Spaniards killing off all the smart Indians when they conquered Mexico."

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[7] S. J. Chávez, "Preserve Their Language Heritage," Childhood Education, December 1956, 33:165+.

Marcus DeLeon, "Wanted: A New Educational Philosophy for the Mexican American," California Journal of Secondary Education, 34:398-402.

J. K. Mellenbruch, "Let's Teach Spanish to Spanish-Speaking Students at School," Texas Outlook, July 1955, 39:14-15.

A. W. Woolsey, "What Are We Doing for Spanish-Speaking Students?", Hispano, March 1961, 44:119-123.

Clark Knowlton, "Bilingualism: A Problem or an Asset," ERIC Documentation Reproduction Service No. ED010-744, December 1965.

After reading what many studies express or infer about the Mexican American, one would conclude that we are supposed to have a negative self-concept, a language problem and low intellectual ability; that we exhibit deplorable hygiene, are economically deprived and are musically talented. According to many studies, Mexican American learners: (1) do poorly in school, (2) drop out early, (3) speak Spanish, and (4) are poor.

Many Mexican Americans do not fit into the above portrait, myself included. But more importantly, one need only look at the many doctoral dissertations, published articles and research studies done on the Mexican American, plus the special programs for the "disadvantaged," then ask this simple question: What has been the payoff to the Mexican American? Any improvements in their situation?"

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The purpose of this paper is not to criticize the constructive efforts of the past, but rather the destructive; there are certainly many persons in education who are culturally sensitive and have shown through action their respect and interest in their fellow man. But more sensitive classroom teachers, administrators and college professors are needed to offer alternatives in the approaches and techniques used in educating the Mexican American student. We must concern ourselves with helping educators to become aware of ways of improving the quality of existing programs and adapting innovations on the basis of educational and cultural needs.

Since the history of educational neglect of the Mexican American in our public schools has been well documented by numerous respected scholars and since the inadequacies of our educational institutions in serving many portions of our society's population are being recognized more and more, it is clear that repetition of past approaches simply will not get the job done.

The main purpose of this paper is to explore what anthropology can contribute to resolving the dilemma we face. It is understood for the purpose of this paper that educational change is desired, that it is indeed necessary, and that analysis of the Mexican American in education from an anthropological point of view will definitely add to the building of a more adequate philosophy to serve as a basis for educating the Mexican American in the future.

ANTHROPOLOGY AS A TOOL

Most anthropologists agree that anthropology is an integrated science of the study of man. The all-inclusive, holistic nature of the discipline (anything which deals with the study of man) has caused one noted anthropologist to claim that it is an academic garbage can of the social sciences. Anthropology is a recent science in the United States; however, it has been influenced greatly by the classical and traditional behavior of the British and Western Europeans. The distinctive features of the discipline are: (1) its all-inclusive nature; (2) the extensive use of the concept of culture; (3) the use of the comparative method of analysis; (4) the usually required contact and fieldwork with the group being studied, including the techniques of participant-observation. There are many branches and areas of study within the discipline, including physical, cultural and applied anthropology, linguistics, archaeology and ethnology. The most significant characteristic of anthropology, in my opinion, is that it is a tool, a vehicle and an instrument. "Es una cosa tener guitarra, y otra saber tocarla."

For the benefit of those unfamiliar with Spanish, "It is one thing to have a guitar, and another to know how to use it." To proceed further, knowledge of a discipline and possession of instruments does not insure that constructive utilization will result. Anthropology is useful only if it can be applied to contributing to the solution of problems.

Anthropology can be considered a tool which has been used in the past for planned change--sometimes to the detriment of Mexican Americans--but which can be utilized to our benefit in the future. One of the most distasteful of the injustices perpetrated on Chicanos by anthropologists via their problematic, pathological and exotic orientation has been their contributions to stereotypes. Regardless of the intentions of Oscar Lewis in his case studies of the culture of poverty, there is little doubt that Five Families, La Familia de Sánchez, and Pedro Martínez have left an imprint and image of Mexicanness on the lay reader which is basically negative. The genius of his case studies has been abused by a public which was not adequately prepared to digest his data in a just manner. Madsen, in his book Mexican Americans of Southwest Texas has been irresponsible in not guiding the reader through his research, not explaining its limitations and not explaining his biases. His study of 20 families in a rural Texas community does not justify the applicability of his works to other Chicanos within that same geographical area, other areas, and especially within urban barrios. Celia Heller, Ruth Tuch, and Kluckhohn have similarly written about Mexican Americans.

It is doubtful that anthropologists will continue to be welcomed in our communities if the above types of studies continue. In fact, E. B. Eiselein, applied anthropologist, has described the Mexican American's reaction to the anthropologist as follows:

> From the very beginning it was very evident that the role of the anthropologist was not exactly revered within Mexican American society. The anthropologist was viewed as a kind of leech who lived off the community, taking a great deal for his personal academic prestige and advancement while giving the people in the barrios nothing in return. Anthropologists were seen as projecting false interpretations of Mexican American culture because of their disciplinary bias for the emphasis on the exotic, the primitive, and the peasant. They were thus accused of creating a

stereotype of the Mexican American and reinforcing anti-Mexican American discrimination.[8]

Let us learn from the mistakes of others. Anthropologists and educators have historically been problem oriented, and it is possible that anthropologists and teachers have contributed to the problems of ethnic minorities through their respective research designs and teaching strategies. However, resultant efforts contrary to the past pattern of negative approaches of anthropologists, need not adversely affect the group being given attention.

In relating anthropological theory, concepts, methods and data to the education of the Mexican American, one must focus careful attention upon the educational process in relationship to human history, milestones (major studies) in anthropology concerning education, cross-cultural perspective through analysis of education in non-western cultural patterns, cultural linguistics, culture and personality, culture and language, major studies and their respective research design, social and linguistic interaction in the classroom, and the utilization of different systems to determine the quality of linguistic interaction between teacher and student.

At this point, however, a brief overview of various branches of anthropology can add to our understanding of possible application.

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[8] E. B. Eiselein, "The Role of Applied Anthropology in Minority Television Programs," (Presentation, American Anthropological Association Meeting, San Diego, California: November 1970).

1. Physical Anthropology: Concerned with man as a physical organism.

    a. Can be useful in pointing out human variation.
    b. Places concept of race into a cross-cultural, cross-geographical perspective, eliminating the provincialism in regards to skin color. i.e. Puerto Rican, Latino, Manito, Tejano.
    c. Applied physical anthropology poses the question, along with Sherwood Washburn, "What kind of School organizing makes the most sense if we look at children anthropologically?" "How can we identify and best meet the physical needs of students?"
    d. Causes us to question the pattern of secretaries and custodians deciding what happens in school physically.

2. Linguistics: The study of languages.

    a. Culture is transmitted from generation to generation by language (our elaborate system of symbolic communication); this enables man to preserve that which is important in the past and that which has priority for the future.
    b. Descriptive or structural linguistics is useful only insofar as it prevents miscues due to structural differences in language.
    c. Validity and legitimizing of the language of the Mexican American - Pocho.[9]
    d. Historic linguistics is important insofar as it deals with changes in language over time, including sound shifts and the influences of one language upon another.
    e. The comparative study of languages as related to their respective cultures can yield valuable insight into the worldview of the subject of that culture. Different languages have different ways of classifying elements of nature. The relationship of vital aspects of the environment (socio-linguistics, bilingual education, animals, color, plants) to the language used yield an idea of the deterministic nature of the language and culture, a trend which may yield much to the Mexican American. It attempts to assess the ways in which the language of a past society structures the perception or worldview of its speakers.

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[9] Mixture of English and Spanish.

3. Archaeology: Since it deals with the study of extinct cultures, it has value only insofar as it is useful in building a more balanced and positive history for the Mexican Americans. Prehistoric cultures are difficult to relate to unless one has a particular curiosity for relating objects to people. The rewards for efforts in this regard are small in that few durable artifacts exist. The unknown factors in the archaeological records are hidden by time, weather and destructive animals. Except for looking broadly at evolution and the migration of man's cultures, ethnology offers more to the contemporary scene than archaeology.

4. Ethnology: Study of contemporary cultures, especially where there is contact with other ways of life.

    a. Contact situation in the Southwest offers many cultural zones. Studies patterns of maintaining Hispanic or Chicano culture as well as patterns of transfer or shift from same to Anglo culture.
    b. Social anthropology - study of society and broad analysis of groups; institutional caretakers vs. self-determination and methodology of this branch could address itself to looking at caretaker institutions and self-determination movements.
    c. Culture and personality.
    d. Cross-cultural studies of institutions, i.e. religion, education.

5. Applied Anthropology: The part of the study of man which is dedicated to "change in human behavior believed to ameliorate contemporary social, economic, and technological problems." (Foster: 1969, p. 54.) Applied anthropological research, according to Manuel Gamio (1966, p. 41), should reach "constructive conclusions and suggested practical means to improve the material and intellectual lives of the social group under consideration."

The following concepts are of considerable importance to the discipline and this paper:

Concept of Culture: Culture has been defined many different ways by many different anthropologists, i.e. Kluckhohn, Hoebel, Kroeber. Most agree that culture is the "total way of life of a people." Other major characteristics are:

a. It is a natural part of man's activity.
b. It is a product of energy and activity.
c. It is learned, acquired.
d. It exists only in the customs of people, the patterns of behavior of members of a society being expressed in individual behavior.
e. It is selective and historical.
f. It is an abstraction from behavior which is based upon symbols, i.e. language.
g. It transcends the individual, existing before birth and after death.
h. To me it is not a thing, it has no precise entity, even though it exists and can be distinctive. Therefore, it is merely an abstraction concerning behavior.

Worldview: The worldview of a people is conceptually the way a people characteristically look outward upon the universe. It differs from "the culture" of a group, for in looking at the total way of life of a people and their principal customs and institutions, an understanding of worldview, culture, and culture change enables us to take a look at child, Anglo, Mexican, Mexican American and Chicano worldview. We can eliminate stereotypes by using the comparative method of contrasting Mexicanness to Anglo-ness, thereby establishing the wide cultural range that is considered Mexican American, Chicano, or native to the Spanish-speaking of the Southwest.

Let us proceed into the following four areas in an attempt to explore how the science of the study of man can assist us in our task of looking at the Mexican American in education. It can:

1. Outline and establish the Chicano way of life as valid and legitimate, a necessary part of a pluralistic approach in education.

2. Add to the curriculum content and strategies which build respect for differences. That respect is the single most important social attitude, in my opinion, which must be developed by our schools.

3. Assist us in training and retraining our teachers more effectively.
4. Help us to understand what happens in schools.

The Chicano is a product of his culture, and he produces his culture. A way of life with all of its patterns exists before a Chicanito is born. These patterns begin to influence him as he develops, which is a natural process that many anthropologists call "enculturation," sociologists call "socialization," and educators call "education." The cultural determinism, the degree to which a person's culture determines his behavior, can be diminished, however, at a critical stage of self-awareness, which occurs at different times for different people. At this point, self-determination for the individual takes precedence over group and cultural influences, and the individual gains control over how he chooses to spend his time and energy. He then becomes a producer of culture and can influence for himself and for others what the ever-changing abstract of Chicano culture is going to be.

CHICANO WAY OF LIFE

Several years ago this author asked a number of educators of Mexican descent some basic questions in interviews. Their responses indicated very clearly the heterogeneous nature of the Mexican American population.[10] Even with the many comprehensive explorations by

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[10] Steven F. Arvizu, "Determining Consensus of Educators of Mexican Descent on Language and Its Role in Education; A New Look at an Old Problem," (Presentation, Southwestern Anthropological Association and Southwestern Council of Anthropologists Joint Conference, Asilomar, California: March 27, 1970).

Nava, Casavantes, Sánchez, etc., there seems to be some confusion both about the terms used in identifying us and about the consensus as to what constitutes Chicano-ness. This need not be an area of serious concern since Anglos do not agree on what constitutes U.S. culture,[11] and Mexicans do not agree on what constitutes Mexican culture.[12] How can anyone accurately define for others what Chicano culture is and/or is not? This is especially true for non-Chicanos. My perceptive set can define what Chicano-ness is to me, and this may or may not be valid for others. For as to labels, it doesn't really matter what others call us (Raza), nor what we call ourselves, as long as we know who we are and what we are.

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[11] Margaret Mead, The School in American Culture (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 195[illegible]).

James West, Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

Geoffry Gorer, The American People (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948).

Francis Hsu, American Core Value and National Character. (Editor's Note: No further documentation provided by author.)

David Reisman, The Lonely Crowd (New York: Anchor Books, 1950).

[12] Samuel Ramos, El Pérfil Del Hombre y La Cultura en México, Colección Austral, No. 1080 (Buenos Aires-México: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, S.A., 1951).

Vasconcelos, La Raza Cósmica, Misión de La Raza Iberoamericana, 2nd Ed., Colección Austral (México: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1948).

Abelardo Villegas, La Filosofía de lo Mexicano, Colección Vida y Pensamiento de México (México-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960).

Emilio Uranga, "Ensayo de una Ontología del Mexicano," Cuadernos Americanos, Marzo-Abril 1949, Año VIII, Vol. XLIV:2.

Leopoldo Zea, Conciencia y Posibilidad del Mexicano (México: Editorial Porrúa y Obregón, S.A., 1955).

Raúl Béjar Navarro, El Mito Mexicano, UNAM: 1968.

For the Chicano in education one of the most obvious uses of anthropology is its effectiveness as a tool, as a vehicle by which many confused or curious people can come to recognize, appreciate and respect the Chicano life style as a legitimate way of life.

Listening to Chicanos tell about the suffering they experienced in the process of their education realistically documents how greatly we need to establish the validity of Chicano culture in widening the mainstream of our society.

Within my own family I can identify with the situation. My language, the food my mother cooked for me, the way my brothers took care of me are very personal and valuable. Can you imagine the dynamics of having these values rejected? How do I answer my daughter when she asks, "Daddy, how come all the kids call me Leah, Leah, Tortilla?" What do I say when she says, "My teacher doesn't like me. I know, because when I told her I had a drum, she told me, 'No, we want an American drum, not one from Mexico.'"? What about the many other children who cannot talk to anyone about their values and their culture, their language and their ideals? How much do they suffer? What _is_ American?

If we were to look at a cultural spectrum to identify Chicano culture, we would have to recognize the broad range of patterns that exist between the absolutes (which have never really been defined) of Mexican-ness and Anglo-ness. Notwithstanding the classical and traditional theorists (in regard to marginality), I propose for consideration that the Chicano is not "caught between two antagonistic worlds"; rather, he can enjoy the position from which he can function in a variety of language and cultural systems, thereby picking and choosing, for it is to his advantage to do so, from various worlds. In this sense he is more free, more in control of how he fits into his environment. This is self-determination at a very personal level and definitely can be viewed as a psychological advantage in today's society.

The potential of the above ideal state of "constructive marginality" can be realized by an increased number of our population in direct proportion to the level of training and skill of a most critical group of agents within the educational system: the teachers. As teachers become more culturally sensitive and skilled in ethno-pedagogy, children will tend to succeed more often and, in a learned, educated way, acquire and develop intercultural understanding. Thus it is highly critical that perceptions of the Chicano, especially by educators, accurately allow for the wide range of behavioral patterns which exist within the group.

It might be useful at this point to present one aspect of Chicano-ness, language, which to me is distinctive from the dominant culture in the U.S.

Language, like culture, is a word which conveys different meanings to different people. Having similar understandings of meanings of words is crucial to eliminating miscues between one who sends messages and one who receives messages. Often one's background affects the meaning carried by such a word as language. For the purposes of this paper language means very simply "a system of communication."

Some basic qualities and uses of language are:

1. All human languages are capable of describing events past, present, and future, or actions and events never before seen.
2. All human languages are capable of dealing in abstracts allowing for speculation and theorizing.
3. Most importantly, language is one method through which culture is transmitted from one generation to another.

If we were to answer the question "What language do most people in the U.S. speak?" we would be forced to recognize that there are many systems of communicating, verbal and non-verbal. Even in looking at English as one system we know that sub-systems vary as dialects--geographically, occupationally, and socially. Similarly, if we were to look at the language of Chicanos we would have to recognize the heterogeneous nature and the wide range that exists linguistically throughout La Raza in the United States.[13]

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[13] MacNab Christian and Chester C. Christian, "Spanish Language and Culture in the Southwest," Language Loyalty in the United States (London: Mouton & Co., 1966) pp. 280-318.

Variations in language (dialects) are normal. Throughout history we see that the manner of communicating in one particular area will, for one reason or another, gain more prestige than that of other areas. The greater the prestige the more desirable it becomes to learn or use a dialect. However, greater prestige is not the same as universal appropriateness. In the case of the Chicano, the "standard Spanish" from Spain, Mexico, New Mexico, etc. has been imposed by many as the power dialect. Anything less than that has had less prestige and been labeled as sub-standard or incorrect. Pochismos[14] have thus, mistakenly, been signs of the uneducated. Educators have missed a most important understanding--if two or more people communicate, their language system has validity. In the Southwest, millions of people use a dialect or dialects of Spanish, and their system of communication is legitimate for their purposes. In fact, public servants who work in barrios are inadequately trained when they study only standard Spanish.

A common misconception in regard to language that is basically "racist" in orientation is that one language is superior or inferior to another. It is perfectly natural for each person to perceive his language as a sufficient means for communication with others. In analysis of speech standards Bloomfield proposes that in language form there is neither good nor bad.[15] It is even understandable that a language is maintained by assuming a very culturally nationalistic and linguocentric posture.

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[14] Expressions which mix English and Spanish.

[15] Leonard Bloomfield, "Literate and Illiterate Speech," Language in Culture and Society, ed., Dell Hymes (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) pp. 391-396.

> Since one's language is so intimately bound up with one's nationality and the self, it is common for emperors--large and small--and empires to try to impose their language on their subjects. Through ignorance of how and why languages are learned, history is full of cases where a struggle between the dominant power to impose its language and the dominated nation to resist it and preserve its own language develops into bitter hatred that flares up intermittently and smolders for centuries. The many attempts to impose a language on a subjugated people by direct pressure have been resisted vigorously and have largely failed. Languages last longer than empires.[16]

For many Chicanos the strategy has been to push for Spanish as a medium of instruction and Spanish as a content area for bilingual-bicultural education in the curriculum.

Let us relate the above to the Chicano. School systems are basically monolingual. Obviously, some Chicanos can function well in such a system. But many are denied equality of educational opportunity because of the pattern in our schools which assumes: "English is right; everyone must speak English."

Education seems to offer some hope of reorganizing schools and of offering alternative plans for instruction. In fact, bilingual education can offer to non-Spanish speakers that which the Chicano has had for decades--the opportunity to learn the language and culture of another group of people. Respect for difference can be encouraged by giving priority in education to learning the languages and cultures of other groups. According to Sapir, human beings are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society.[17] Benjamin Lee Whorf presents the theory that language is an influencing factor and shapes the process of perceptual and unconscious thought.[18] The concept of linguistic determinism tells us that our thinking is shaped by the language we speak. Harry Hoijer adds, "Linguistic patterns inescapably limit sensory perceptions and thought, and, together with other cultural patterns, they direct perception and thinking into certain habitual channels."[19]

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[16] Robert Lado, Language Across Cultures, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957) pp. 17-18.

The expression in Spanish, "Cada cabeza es un mundo," tells us that people live different worlds of reality. In addition, the expression, "Hablar dos idiomas es ser dos personas," denotes that people who speak two languages can have two worlds in the sense that the languages they speak affect, to a considerable degree, both their sensory perceptions and their habitual modes of thought.

It is possible to look at structural differences in language to compare ways of life. For the purpose of illustration, we can look at Spanish and English and briefly analyze how they deal with the value of inter-personal relationship to show how linguistic patterns, sensory perceptions, and "interpretaciones de la realidad" are related.

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[17] Edward Sapir, "Conceptual Categories in Primitive Languages," Language in Culture and Society, ed., Dell Hymes (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) p. 128.

[18] Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, ed., John B. Carroll (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1956).

[19] Harry Hoijer, "Linguistic and Cultural Change," Language in Culture and Society, ed., Dell Hymes (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) pp. 455-466.

The first example deals with the matter of courtesy among Chicanos. The Chicano Movement tells us to "respect your neighbor, but only let him mess over you once; if he does it a second time, you got to get it on." In looking at the "respect your neighbor" part of the above sentence let us look at Spanish and the concept of courtesy.

In looking at a particular social event--introducing yourself to someone--it can be seen that Spanish differs from English in how respect for the other person is treated linguistically. In English, a "My name is John Doe; I'm pleased to meet you," suffices. By contrast, the Chicano might say, "Permitame presentarme, Fulano de Tal, a sus órdenes." There are a number of expressions which denote that the other person is more important when introducing yourself to him, i.e. "a sus órdenes," "para servirle," "su servidor," "a la orden." To translate these expressions would make them sound stilted in English ("at your service," "your servant," etc.), yet they are very natural in Spanish. A cross-cultural look at introductions (Japanese and other non-Western cultures have an elaborate system) shows that those who speak Spanish are not deviants in this regard.

The expression "vamos a comer" or "vamos a echar un trago" denotes more than "let's go eat" or "let's go have a drink." In Spanish, the one doing the inviting is assuming responsibility for paying; whereas in English it's "dutch treat," unless it is a courting situation. Let me illustrate this by something that really happened to me in Mexico.

After meeting a young couple at the theatre, a group of us were invited by the young man "a tomar una taza de café." Of the twenty in the group, only a few were native speakers of Spanish. Looking around, I noticed that the native speakers of Spanish, myself included, had ordered coffee or tea, which sells for two pesos (16 U.S. cents). All of the others, who were monolinguals from the U.S., had ordered Black Russians, Tom Collins, Scotch and water, etc., which cost about 20 pesos ($1.60 in U.S. currency). It was obvious when the check came that the young man who had invited us was not going to relinquish his unstated obligation to pay. The Anglos had thought that they were going to pay for their own drinks individually or put in a fair amount toward the check, and accordingly they ordered several drinks. They had not understood that the Mexican who had invited us would lose face if he allowed them to pay for our portion of the bill. The concept of _yo invito_[20] is literally translatable linguistically but not culturally.

Let us take a look at a visit to someone's home. "Aquí tienes tu casa" utilizes the familiar, friendly form, making the invitation more personal than "my house is your house." A Mexican family with whom I once lived told me that they didn't understand when a Norteamericano used that phrase, for most say it without really meaning it.

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[20] I invite--my treat.

My friends indicated that in Spanish the expression meant to them "aquí tienes tu casa."

With the Anglo it is understood that you call before you visit, that the wife be allowed to clean up or fix something special for dinner. In some Mexican homes you are invited to sit down and partake of something -- water, coffee, food, whatever. In such homes you very seldom leave without having received something from the family. My mother explained that she is extending a part of herself to her guests by offering friendship and hospitality. Some Anglos, when offered something which they don't like, simply say, "No, thank you." In the latter situation the appropriate and polite thing to do would be to accept even if you don't really want to. Even structurally in Spanish the "thank you" would come first, "Gracias, no."

We can gain more insight into how some Spanish-speaking people view courtesy by looking at terms and expressions used by the group. The Spanish language has four different ways of saying you--familiar-singular, familiar-plural, formal-singular, formal-plural. In English one form is used in most situations. As the chief instrument of communication, language attaches words and phrases to the most frequent and most important cultural meanings.

USING ANTHROPOLOGY TO TRAIN TEACHERS

The training that a fieldworker receives can be useful for teachers in making them less ethnocentric and more sensitive culturally. An adequate educational program for the person whose background of experiences does not prepare him for typically offered learning situations must provide for teacher training and in-service training which prepares the teacher to meet expected educational challenges successfully. Along with content and disciplinary mastery, consideration and mastery of the language patterns, family structures, economic situation, and other cultural factors evident in the learner's "way of life" should be required of teachers. This is especially true for Chicanos. Chicanos are here to stay, and they are increasing in numbers at a faster rate than most other groups. For many in our country the baby boom is past, and planned parenthood is the byword; but this is not necessarily true for Chicanos. In California, Chicanos are the largest ethnic minority. There are more Chicanos in California than Blacks in any other state in the country. We are increasing geometrically. With the 18-year-old vote a reality and the fact that Chicanos as a group are younger than most other Americans, the implications for the future are very clear. Communities are demanding Chicano teachers or at least culturally sensitive teachers in schools which serve Chicanos. Indeed, it is to our best interest, critical to the common good, that more teachers receive adequate training.

It appears that the singlemost important challenge to teacher training is ethnic balance. Until it is realized other variables cannot be measured. This is especially true in areas where contact exists between the "dominant" group and the ethnic minority. In fact, due to the ethnic imbalance in schools and the inadequate training of most teachers to teach Chicanos, it could very well be that our teacher-training institutions may be in violation of the equal protection guaranteed by the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Executive Orders 11246 and 11478! Certainly if the Mexican American community is neither receiving adequate educational care, nor are its members equitably represented as practitioners in the field, those in education can expect an increasing amount of pressure for community accountability as a logical extension of educational accountability. According to Casavantes, "...on a humanistic and personal level, we find that Chicanos are best equipped, by virtue of our cultural background, to serve other Chicanos. The evidence is that participation by the Chicano population...is seriously hampered by lack of understanding of the patient by the practitioner."[21]

DO YOU HAVE TO BE BROWN?

In looking at the matter of Chicanos vs. non-Chicanos as teachers of Chicano children, we can look at the following model, which deals with analyzing change, to find a path of least resistance and optimum results. Leslie White, in his book, The Science of Culture, utilizes a formula to describe culture as organizations of energy. Let us explore some possibilities. Although White was talking about cultural change and variety, his formula can be adapted here for educational change and teacher training: $\underline{E} \times \underline{T} = \underline{P}$. (E equals amount of energy, T equals technological means, and $\underline{P}$ equals product). Let us look at an example with teacher training. Efficiency depends on bodily skills and nature of tools. Man can increase the efficiency of the expenditure of his bodily energy in 2 ways: (1) by improving the tool (teacher in-service); (2) by substituting a better tool for an inferior one (teacher pre-service). There is, however, a point of diminishing return in improving tools. In applying this to educational change, $\underline{E}$ equals the amount of energy and resources expended on quality education for Chicanos, $\underline{T}$ equals the teacher (educational personnel), and $\underline{P}$ equals the degree of quality development of the field.

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[21] Edward J. Casavantes, "Toward Equality in Chicano Participation in the Health and Mental Health Fields," (Presentation, Association of Psychologists for La Raza, Mexican American National Issues Conference, Sacramento, California, October 9, 1971).

Postulate #1--All other things being equal, the degree of quality development varies directly with the amount of energy per capita per year harnessed and put to work.

Postulate #2--All other things being equal, the degree of quality development varies directly with the efficiency of the technological means with which the harnessed energy is put to work.

Postulate #3--Given the above, we can formulate the law of quality evolution (cultural evolution): Quality (culture) ($\underline{P}$) develops when the amount of energy harnessed by man per capita per year is increased, or as the efficiency of the technological means of putting the energy to work is increased, or as both factors are simultaneously increased.

If the force of the growing technology is great enough, the restraining institutions will give way. In Bakersfield, California, for example, community action and force have directed the LEA to rechannel district money for bilingual-bicultural education.[22]

Chicano educators working as agents of change within the culturally diverse society in the southwestern United States bear our consideration. Educators of Mexican descent who are participating in the dominant culture are key agents to the contact situation. Due to their marginality they are able to identify with both groups. Marginality is here defined as that autonomous state in which one can choose to function within various cultural settings and do so successfully. They are the focal point upon which the institution of language and its role in the educational system can be studied. They are looked to by the dominant culture as advisors and experts in Mexican American affairs and are expected to stay in the vanguard, protecting the interests of the Mexican American community. Their influence in both roles, however, is open to speculation.

The perspective of the Mexican American educator toward language and culture might give insights into the present direction of educational philosophy. Since educational philosophy is basic to instructional programs and their end-products, any element which might affect this philosophy is relevant to the contact situation.

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[22] Armando Ayala, Director of Valley Intercultural Project, led a team of change agents to employ the Delphi technique as modified by Dr. Morris Krear in resolving conflict between community and school officials in Summer, 1971.

The philosophy of teachers as to how instruction can be improved depends greatly upon how they view the component elements of an instructional program: the learner, the teacher, and the home. The learner is the center of an ideal instructional program, and the test of successful teaching is whether or not his desire to learn is deepened and his capacity and skill to learn is enlarged. It behooves the alert teacher, in order not to be at a disadvantage, to gain information about the learner and the home and, as has been pointed out earlier, to understand the real world of the child by understanding the life-style of the local adult community in which the child lives.

EDUCATORS AS AGENTS OF CHANGE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS

Another major idea presented here for your consideration is that the responsibility of teachers and most public servants today transcends the traditional role. In the case of the teacher, it is proposed that he consider the interdependence of his role as director of learning within the classroom and his role as a community-school liaison person. The rôle of the teacher should be to take the lead in building an effective system of communication between the student, parents, teachers, and the school. As such he might consider being learner-centered rather than administration-centered. He would be an important cog in the wheel for providing children with an equitable educational opportunity by accepting all children for what and where they are and preparing them to take advantage of those opportunities of our economic, political, and social systems.

Functional teacher-training gives validity to the concept that a significant portion of the training for a teacher should include exposure to out-of-classroom factors and conditions which influence the real world of the child. The educational situation of the low-income student is very much linked to surrounding conditions, and it may sometimes be necessary to change outside-class conditions before the learning act can be facilitated within the classroom. There is a direct mandate from community groups in the Chicano community that teachers and public servants be aware of social, economic, cultural, and political realities within the Mexican American communities. The training of a teacher as an innovator and advocate of change as presented here should provide direct beneficial results to the community in which the teachers are trained and should provide long term benefits that the traditional role has failed to produce.

There have been many studies of teachers as "brokers," "sectoral links," and innovators in relating sub-groups to national culture and social and economic life.[23] However, most of these studies have been conducted abroad, and, although they offer food for thought, the number of similar domestic studies are indeed quite limited. In a time when the role of the classroom teacher within the U. S. "Culture of Schools" has remained relatively static, other countries throughout the world have invested in school teachers as change agents in primary areas of contact--usually rural or urban areas in which the boundaries of the subgroup and others from the dominant culture interact in quantity and quality to a high degree. To quote Dr. Rolland G. Paulsen,

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[23] Rolland G. Paulson, "Education and Community Development in Peru," Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter, May 1971.

Manning Nash, "Village Schools in the Process of Social and Economic Modernization," Social and Economic Studies, March 1965, pp. 141-143.

William E. Sibley, "Social Structure and Planned Change: A Case Study from the Phillipines," Human Organization, Winter 1960, pp. 209-11

Robert Gurevich, The Thailand UNESCO Rural Teacher Education Project: A Case Study in Training Teachers for Rural Schools, International and Development Education Project (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1969).

Irwin Press, "Ambiguity and Innovation: Implications for the Genesis of the Culture Broker," American Anthropologists, April 1969, 71:2, 205-217.

T. M. Fraser, "Sociocultural Parameters in Directed Change," Human Organization, Spring 1963, p. 96.

> Numerous countries have sought to build greater continuity, economy, and effectiveness into community development programs by including school teachers in both rural and urban programs. As teachers are often the only government officials in rural areas, their services have been especially sought not only in the classroom but also as long term change agents and brokers between the village and nation.[24]

Perhaps other countries recognize the great cultural range which exists within their boundaries and are attempting to overcome such profound differences by building a contagious and congruent national set of patterns.

TEACHER TRAINING MODEL FOR BILINGUAL CHANGE AGENTS

It is useful here to provide an example of a model for training teachers so that they can operate more effectively as bilingual teachers in a classroom with Mexican American children and others.[25] The major aim and procedures of the Mexican American Education Project are addressed to some of the needs outlined earlier. This project is closely linked with the Valley Intercultural Program and the Ethel Phillips Bilingual Program. The program utilizes the applied social sciences to develop skills in the teacher enabling him to constructively work as an "agent of change" within the "culture of schools." The program proposes: (1) to train bilingual-bicultural educational leaders as agents of change, (2) to institutionally change teacher preparation and in-service training, and (3) to develop community accountability in educational programs for the Mexican American.

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[24] CAE Newsletter, May 1971, 2:2, 1.

The major purpose of the program at Sacramento State College is to provide the participants with understanding in depth of the cultural background, acculturation patterns, personality, and resulting behavior of Mexican Americans on the assumption that this will prepare them to apply methods of teaching the Mexican American children in an informed, imaginative, and innovative way.

The program has the following main features:

1. Substantive classwork on the nature of Mexican American culture, personality, and acculturation.
2. Participant observation within the Mexican American community.

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[25] Atilano Valencia, "The Effects of a College Teacher Training Project with Emphasis on Mexican American Cultural Characteristics." (Evaluation Report, Sacramento State College Mexican American Educational Project, 1970).

3. Intensive courses in compensatory education.
4. Practicums to develop insights and skills gained from above.
5. Live-in and travel-study opportunities.

The program is organized in such a fashion that formal classwork is always enhanced by direct personal observation and experience. Substantive courses in the nature of the school system and its problems are supported by participant observation in the training-cluster schools under direct supervision.

Other courses deal with the nature of the Spanish-speaking; the major problems faced by them are supported by participant observation in the Mexican American community. Community involvement is a necessary component in the training package. The selection criteria insures that the participants include community work as a major concern.

Courses are in the fields of Chicano studies, anthropology, social science, history, and education. Courses such as the following give an indication as to the core experiences to which the participants are exposed: Chicano Political Thought; History of the Chicano in the Southwest; Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicano World Views; Bilingual Education; Educational Anthropology; Social Science; Education and the Mexican American; Cultures and People of Mexico; The Dynamics of Culture Change; The Culture of Poverty; and Directed Community Involvement in Mexican American Education.

The staff for the program has been selected for teaching ability and knowledge of the subject matter. Staff participation is by invitation only.

Training within the model includes definite action orientation. While receiving training in educational leadership the participants not only gain educational supervision and administration theory, but they are required to apply various tools and techniques in attempting to change an aspect of behavior within the school setting. The change is usually directed at teachers' attitudes, administrative practices, teaching strategies or curriculum revision. But our participants have been known, among many other activities in the past, to:

1. Take over, with the help of local community citizens, a course for future administrators.
2. Initiate a Breakfast for Niños Program, which is still functioning two years later.
3. Initiate a bilingual-bicultural radio program using the Sacramento State College radio station.
4. Facilitate community organization for raising $1,800 for adding playground equipment and a bilingual library for a local elementary school.
5. Initiate an underground pre-school, a completely volunteer effort at no expense to the school district.
6. Take over a national bilingual conference and various Head Start and education conferences bridging the distance between the "establishment oriented" professionals and alienated community.
7. Help elect a Chicano city councilman and in the process aid in setting up the mechanism for voter registration, precinct work, self-determination politics.
8. Work with young alienated Chicanos in directing efforts from open warfare between Blacks and Chicanos, in which three persons were shot, to more constructive community efforts.
9. Helped initiate and operate a bilingual, community-run Head Start Program.

10. Organize cannery workers around adult-education classes.

11. Help initiate a viable Chicano-studies program which offers community-related courses for public servants, SSC students, and community people, including courses being taught within the target community for credit.

12. Evaluate Title VII Bilingual Education programs funded in California, giving special attention to community-involvement aspects.

13. Change to a limited degree the nature and content of teacher training at Sacramento State College. (Some faculty, deans, etc. are even trying to learn Spanish.)

14. Initiate an ESL course for adults at a bilingual-program site.

15. Mediate in a situation at a local high school where racial violence closed down the school. The result in that situation is that two of our participants are presently teaching the only Chicano-Studies course at a school on a voluntary basis.

16. Tutor on a regular basis at local schools which have bilingual programs and low-income children.

17. Take part in bringing together various elements of the community for creative group activities: opposing the closing down of a barrio school, producing three major Mexican plays in Spanish, coordinating a Christmas program for the Spanish-speaking community.

The above examples illustrate the important results of application of theory to practice early in the training of a teacher. A practicum from the beginning in teacher training has many advantages to the trainee and to those within the school in which he works. It must be emphasized that field-oriented training is of limited use if restricted to activities within the classroom.

CULTURE OF SCHOOLS

Anthropology can give us a perspective and means for viewing and studying our institutions of schools as a cultural system. In the same way that fieldworkers enter a community to analyze its social, political and economic structures, so can we analyse patterns of behavior within our "culture of schools,"[26] We, as educators, are often blind to what happens within the classroom. Social and linguistic interactions are many times influenced by underlying principles and cultural variables of which we are unaware.[27] Teacher behavior as to how it stimulates action or inaction in children can be carefully observed and described. Such observations can be used as a building block for providing constructive alternatives and facilitating the educational process for Mexican American students.

Schools are probably by far the most vicious arena for assimilation and destruction of cultural diversity within our society. I am pleased that my colleague Dr. Knowlton in his recent publication entitled "Bilingualism; A Problem or Asset" clearly states what many of us from La Raza have had to face:

> The philosophy of the State and local school systems is imbued with the traditional middle-class Anglo-American value that all minority and immigrant groups should be required to abandon their native languages and cultures, give up their identity, and become absorbed as individuals into the dominant group, usually on a lower-class level. If any group resists full acculturation, it is regarded as somewhat uncivilized, un-American, and potentially subversive. There is a complete unwillingness to accept the idea that a native born American who happens to want to speak Spanish, German, or Polish, and to retain many of the values of his native culture, might well be a loyal American. As a result, the full force of the educational system in the Southwest has been directed toward the eradication of both the Spanish

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[26] Jacquetta Burnett, "Culture of the School: A Construct for Research and Explanation in Education," Council of Anthropology Newsletter, 2nd ed. (Editor's note: no further documentation given.)

[27] John Gumperz, Unpublished lectures on Social and Linguistic Interaction in the Classroom, U.C. Berkeley: Fall 1970.

language and the Spanish-American or Mexican American cultures.[28]

Educational personnel in the past have planned instructional programs with a monolingual, monocultural and ethnocentric orientation. The culture of public schools reflects White Anglo middle America, and resembles a huge sausage grinder in which the result ideally should fit into the WASP mold. Could there be a relationship between these patterns in school and the lack of achievement of Mexican Americans?

The fact that special programs are in existence and are necessary to meet realistically the needs of certain learners implies that the traditional approaches and situations are indeed inadequate. Perhaps some basic philosophical questions as to reassessing the principles upon which educational programs are built are in order. It is entirely possible that by asking vital questions about our schools we may come to realize that such innovations as bilingual education and ethnic studies can effectively take the place of some presently inadequate approaches to instruction while not perpetrating further costs to the educational budget systems.

More studies such as Sindler's should concentrate on studying the culture of schools, what goes on in the classroom, the behavior of teachers and administrators as compared to that of other adults faced by the learner, and how the behavior of these teachers and administrators affects the perception, achievement and growth of the student. Spindler found, in developing case studies of teachers while looking at the teacher as a cultural transmitter, that what we think and intend and what actually happens are not always harmonious:

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[28] Clark Knowlton, "Bilingualism: A Problem or an Asset," Eric Documentation Reproduction Service No. Ed. 010-744; December 1965.

> Discrepancies between intended educational goals and what is actually transmitted are present in curriculum design, in the literature of textbooks and teaching aids, and in classroom procedure. They permeate all phases of the student-teacher relationship, the professional education of teachers, and the very subculture of education.[29]

Another suggestion which might serve several purposes is to incorporate curriculum that provides for teaching strategies which are success and participation oriented. Changes in curricula are needed not just in content but in emphasis on the learning and teaching strategies. In designing relevant education programs for low-income (in this case Chicano) students, educators should mirror the needs and wants of the target community as defined by that community. This encourages a posture of community accountability and self-determinism. It has been recognized by reputable curriculum experts such as Glasser, Randolph and Taba that more meaningful learning takes place when the student has a feeling of self-worth. "Different strokes for different folks" has its counterpart in different strategies for different students. It is possible that some learners might profit from any of the cognitive, affective, or psychomotive domains in learning. The planners of curriculum to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking might well consider the inherent and environmental qualities of the learner -- a theory well accepted and not too often applied in education today.

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[29] George Spindler, "The Transmission of Culture," Burton Lecture No. Three (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959).

The self-fulfilling prophecy illustrates the process by which one's orientation and expectations affect his outcome. Several studies (for example, Pygmalion in the Classroom) demonstrates the relationship of teachers' attitudes and perception of children to the growth and achievement of those children. My mother used to tell me, "Mijo, you see what you want to see." And observation and analysis can be clearly devised to affect the behavioral system studied -- the culture of schools for the benefit of low-income and culturally diverse children.

CONCLUSION

The obvious agenda of this paper has been to apply the tradition of anthropological inquiry to a contemporary situation for a specific purpose. Attention has been brought to the potential role of anthropology in the educational process for Mexican Americans via criticisms and suggestions. A critical look at trends in education yields a challenge to educators and suggests direction for future educational activities. Explored were the implications and influences of anthropology in terms of shaping educational philosophy, teacher training and definition of Chicano lifestyle. The application of tools and techniques of the discipline of anthropology to education for the Mexican American could result in the revitalization of the subculture in which we are all participants -- that of ~~the~~ culture of schools.

The Chicano, Mexican American, Spanish-speaking or migrant learner has all of the same basic physiological, social and emotional needs that other students have. A basic need of man is self-worth, and the minority learner is no different from anyone else in that respect. He needs the educational experiences which will enculturate him without destruction of his cultural heritage and which will prepare him for adulthood in our changing society. He needs the opportunity to develop computation and communication skills. The self-actualization process will enable him to know himself and to identify with his environment. And his need for economically salable skills need not be neglected either. The possibilities are great, and we are limited only by our own expectations.

In the last analysis, a contact situation is made up of individuals who must learn new behaviors and/or unlearn old ones. Relating this to the total society, if we assumed that the educational system is an important vehicle through which this is done, we must consider the philosophies on which the instructional programs are based and the groups of agents which affect those philosophies.

There is a saying within my family: "Cuando uno de nosotros sufre, todos sufrimos." (When one of us suffers, we all suffer). When young people in East Los Angeles take to the streets, to "blow-outs," to riots, to "shoot-outs" as a means of coping with our social and educational institutions, I ask myself, "What is my responsibility in all of this?" "What can I do?" What can we as educators do to relate our areas of expertise to resolving this contemporary and obvious dilemma? Truly, we are dealing with a matter of survival.

The responsibility of the researcher to those he studies and of the teacher to those he teaches needs reassessment, for such reassessment can result in valuable and indispensable cultural inventiveness within our educational institutions. In fact, an educational philosophy which is more a development of resources than an assimilation plan can then lend direction to resetting priorities of our technical society toward identifiable attempts to meet human needs.

When we consider the obligation of our educational system -- to prepare students to enable them to take advantage of equal opportunity, develop their potential to its fullest and contribute to their society -- we must make immediate and long-range plans to educate those that our system has most failed: the ethnic minorities. Millions of dollars are spent on the development of natural and technological resources within our society. One of the most valuable of our resources, the human resource, is where more of our efforts should be channeled. The contribution to our country and world would be great indeed if the potential of La Raza were realized.

Pero, es una cosa tener guitarra y es otra saber tocarla.

EDITOR'S SUMMARY OF PANEL REACTIONS

The panel discussion of Professor Arvizu's paper first focused on the question of the Mexican American's culture. Could the article not give, it was asked, guidelines toward discovering what exactly this culture consists in? The author pointed out the delicate balance involved in formulating a general definition while at the same time avoiding the stereotyping which over-generalizations have so often been guilty of in the past. The problem of striking this balance in any statement concerning the Chicano was alluded to several times more during the course of the discussions.

The next point concerned the question of what the paper's main issue was and to whom it was directed. After much discussion about the possible applications of anthropology to Mexican American education, the panelists agreed that the author's formulation of a double purpose was found on pp. 3 and 4. Although the prime audience for the paper was said to be teachers, it was decided to expand this term to educators in order to include administrators on all levels. It was also pointed out that the audience for the paper would probably be far wider than most of the panelists envisioned.

There was a feeling that more documentation would be helpful in such areas as the inadequacy of I.Q. tests, studies on Mexican American learners, and the effects of culture contact insofar as values and language are concerned. One panelist mentioned that a precise quote of the high Chicano dropout rate in Texas would make a strong point of the need for educational change.

The author, having been asked to elaborate on the phrase "agents of change" on pp. 32-33, explained that such an educator would be concerned to integrate what goes on in the classroom with the outside environment, especially insofar as knowledgeability and respect for the different cultural values in that environment are concerned. Concretely, this would mean respect for the Chicano child as a Chicano and a professional knowledge of what that implies. Of course, another implication of this is that the educator would be concerned with curriculum and teacher-attitude change as well as with change in the environment.

Several panelists were dissatisfied with the phrase "culture of schools" throughout pp. 39-43, pointing out that a school is merely a part or a reflection of a culture on a wider scale. This also precipitated the remark that precisely here lies the problem: the schools that serve the barrio most often do not reflect the culture of the barrio because there is little input from the latter. A relevant curriculum would assure a remedy to this.

Lastly, at one point in the discussion there arose the question of the practicality of the paper for the average teacher. The author replied that he thought a certain amount of abstraction was necessary at this stage of the proceedings, since the very title of the conference, "Toward an Emerging Philosophy. . .," implied a basic framework upon which practical conclusions could later be built.

The participants [illegible] this panel were:

Panel Coordinator:
Ignacio Córdova
Department of Education
College of Education
University of New Mexico

Recorder:
Frances Guzmán
Teacher Corps Intern
The University of Texas at Austin

Panel Members:
Gustavo González
Chairman of Chicano Studies
University of California at Davis

Josué M. González, Executive Director
C.A.N.B.B.E./National Urban Coalition
San Antonio

Arturo Luis Gutiérrez, Consultant
Office of International & Bilingual Education
Texas Education Agency

Juan Luján, Acting Director
Language Development and Reading
Bilingual Program
Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

Albar Peña, Director
Bilingual Education Program Branch, U.S.O.E.
Washington, D. C.

Néstor Pérez, Director
International Student Affairs
Texas Southern University

Rodolfo G. Serrano
Assistant Professor of Education
University of New Mexico

TOWARD A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR THE CHICANO: BILINGUALISM AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Mari-Luci Ulibarrí, Ph.D.
University of New Mexico

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY MARI-LUCI ULIBARRÍ

Dr. Ulibarrí's discussion of bilingualism and intellectual development insists on the necessity of bicultural rather than merely bilingual education. In the discussion following the presentation of her paper, the panelists were in agreement that bilingualism without the cultural component is obsolete. Being able to operate successfully in two cultures where they exist together is a much more realistic goal for education than merely being skilled in one aspect of the second culture. Dr. Ulibarrí, after presenting a well-documented explanation of the advantages of bilingual education for intellectual development, expands this to include bicultural education and then makes concrete and practical suggestions whereby educators might put into effect such a program.

TOWARD A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR THE CHICANO:
BILINGUALISM AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Mari-Luci Ulibarrí, Ph.D.

My basic thoughts on this subject are quite simple to condense; simply, bilingualism assists in intellectual prowess and development. Through experience, however, I have found that such a statement does not have the same meaning for everyone who reads it. The problem is that terms like bilingualism and bilingual education are not always self-explanatory and must usually be defined and discussed. There are few people who agree on an exact definition of bilingualism since there are almost as many definitions as there are writers about the subject. And the range is from one extreme, "bilingualism is merely the exposure to two languages," to the other end of the continuum, "it is the ability to speak two languages or the native-like control of two languages."[1] For the purposes of this discussion, Nelson Brooks's practical definition will be used. He believes that a person is bilingual when he "habitually uses two languages."[2]

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[1] J. V. Jensen, "Effects of Childhood Bilingualism, I and II," Elementary English, (1962), 39, 132-43, 356-66.

[2] Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964).

Definitions of bilingual education are numerous also. Bruce Gaarder's definition appears to be the practical one used in many modern bilingual programs. He states,

> Bilingual education is the concurrent use of two languages as media of instruction for a child in a given school in any or all of the school curriculum except the actual study of the languages themselves.[3]

I agree with the above definition of bilingual education.

But it is time that we all understand, if we do not already, that bilingual education without consideration of the cultural component is obsolete. It can be argued successfully that knowledge of two or more languages is an asset to intellectual development.[4] Certainly bilingualism assists one's power of perception by giving one access to two or more languages and in that way substantially increases the number of ideas to which one has access. But the additional tools for perception to which a bilingual person has access are not nearly as powerful as those of a person who is not only bilingual but bicultural. The literature is full of thoughts on bilingual/bicultural education. However, few articles define bicultural education other than to say, "study of the history and culture associated with a student's mother tongue is considered an integral part of bilingual education."[5] By implication, most descriptions of bicultural education say that the programs should offer the study of the culture, that is, study of the language, diet, costuming, socialization patterns, and ethics of the group being studied. I would like to suggest going much further than this. Being bicultural implies knowing, feeling, and acting as a native of a given culture. One is not bicultural by cognition alone; it must include being.

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[3] A. Bruce Gaarder, "Organization of the Bilingual School," Journal of Social Issues, 1967, 23:110-20.

[4] Elizabeth Peal and Wallace E. Lambert, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence." (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1962).

[5] Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling In The United States, (Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Vol. I, January, 1970), p. 47.

Biculturalism is a state that indicates knowing and being able to operate successfully in two cultures. Therefore, a biculturate actually internalizes two modes of behaviors in a given role which can be analyzed and utilized. He knows, is committed to, and has internalized the beliefs, values, customs, and mores of two different peoples. Bicultural education is the teaching of two ways of life.

Intellect refers to the facility or power of perception.[6] And the role language plays in this perception has been widely researched. With these investigations has come the idea that the basic process of learning as opposed to the mere accumulation of information, is the goal of education.[7]

Language as the determinant of or as an influence on man's cognition and perception comes about due to the very nature of its definition. Language is a limited group of words and forms whose availability enables man to think and express himself in the medium of that language. The lack of a means to do a job such as thinking and expression attest to the fact that the job will not be accomplished as well as if the meanings were available to him. Another element that serves to point to the deterministic character of language is the fact that linguistic distinctions often reinforce cultural experience (and vice versa). A person does not simply see social action, record it, and repeat it accurately. He sees the action in terms of his linguistically acquired knowledge, classifies it linguistically and acts in terms of what he perceives through this linguistic screen. Evidence of this is indicated by a study of the interaction of language, topic, and listener where the combination of a receiver and a topic reflecting cultural experiences almost always demands the use of the language of the culture regardless of the fluency of the bilingual involved.[8]

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[6] New Practical Standard Dictionary of the English Language, Britannica World Language Edition (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1956), p. 695.

[7] Jerome S. Bruner, R. R. Oliver, and P. Greenfield, Studies in Cognitive Growth (New York: Wiley, 1966).

The theoretical basis for the idea that language is a determinant of perception was first put forth by Sapir. He stated that:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social reality as understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the

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[8] Susan Ervin-Tripp, "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listener," American Anthropologist, (1964) 66: 86-102.

> "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group.[9]

He further adds:

> It is the vocabulary of a language that most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers. The complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the community.[10]

Whorf agrees with Sapir on the relationship of language and perception. He believes that,

> the linguistic system of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, rather, it is the *shape of ideas*, *the program and guide for the individual's mental activity for his analysis of impressions*, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade.[11] (Emphasis added.)

Gastil agrees that language and thought go together. Therefore, language is an important part of being bicultural.

> At any one time, language offers its current users certain tools of expression, *certain distinctions of thought* and certain areas of preciseness and vagueness which, whatever may be their origin in the cultures of his ancestors, may be hypothesized *to determine to a considerable degree the nature of this thought today*.[12] (Emphasis added.)

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[9] Edward Sapir, "The Status of Linguistics as a Science," *Language*, (1929), 5: 209; cited by Harry Hoijer, "Cultural Implications of Some Navajo Linguistic Categories," *Language in Culture and Society*, ed. Dale Hynes, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 143.

[10] Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*, ed. David Mandelbaum, (Los Angeles: University of California Press), p. 90.

[11] Benjamin Lee Whorf, "Science and Linguistics," *Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings*, ed. Saporta, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p. 465.

[12] Raymond B. Gastil, "Relative Linguistic Determinism," *Anthropological Linguistics*, (1959), 1:4.

A person's ability to perceive is limited severely by his own point of view. When observing or analyzing any situation, our understanding is limited by our own past experience. We will be most sensitive of those aspects of the situation with which we are familiar and tend to overlook those aspects which are unfamiliar. Attitude shapes perception, thus selecting observance of social phenomena. Any judgments we may make are determined by the attitudes we have learned in the past. One's intellect reduces the phenomenon under observation into understandable data. It bends, twists, and discards the phenomenon we try to understand until it is almost unrecognizable, i.e., truth or reality is what we make it to be. And one of the primary agents in this reduction is our limited point of view. How all this relates to biculturalism is quite simple: when one is bicultural, he has access to more than one point of view. He has the knowledge and experience of two cultures to help him understand and make decisions. His observation is still limited by the decided-upon point of view, but that point of view has been greatly enhanced by his double set of perceptual lenses.

The benefit to intellectual development of the bicultural person is more than having access to two cultural points of view. In many situations a bicultural person will find that the attitudes of the two cultures in which he lives conflict. If he is truly bicultural, he realizes it will not be because one attitude is true and one is false, or that one attitude is good and one is bad, but that the conflict is simply one of attitudes and not of truths. He will think of appropriateness and available stock of behaviors from which to pick and choose. From this he begins to understand the concept of point of view. He learns that a point of view does not express a truth but simply an attitude, a way to look at the world. This is one of the major advantages of biculturalism. Where a monocultural person sees truth and heresy, and good and bad, a bicultural person is able to transcend that limited understanding into a realm where truths are relative to the situation and opposites or differences can be viewed as two sides of the same coin. Not only will the Chicano culture survive and flourish in this country if we can promote biculturalism, but the world will gain more informed, flexible, and clearer-thinking citizens able to tackle the complex problems of the modern world.

> Being bilingual can be a great asset, for both the individual and the society in which he lives. Being monolingual is increasingly a personal and social handicap.[13]

Research on the relation of bilingualism and intellectual development is plentiful.[14] However, in the light of very recent developments, most of it is old and outdated. The results run the spectrum from findings that indicate bilingualism to be definitely detrimental to intellectual development[15] to those that emphatically indicate bilingualism to be an asset to intellectual development. Some show bilingualism to have no effect on intellectual development. Others inform us that bilingualism is an asset in non-verbal intelligence and a hindrance in verbal-intelligence.

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[13] Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner, Early Childhood Bilingual Education (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1971) p. XXV.

[14] Natalie T. Darcy, "Bilingualism and the Measurement of Intelligence: Review of a Decade of Research." The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. CIII Second Half (December 1963), pp. 259-282.

A. Richard Diebold, Jr., "The Consequences of Early Bilingualism in Cognitive Development and Personality Formation," in The Study of Personality: An Interdisciplinary Appraisal, eds., Edward Norbeck Douglass, Price-Williams, and William M. Mc Cord (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1968) pp. 218-245.

Dorothy H. Eichorn and Harold E. Jones, "Bilingualism," in "Development of Mental Functions." Review of Educational Research, Vol. XXII, No. 5 (December, 1952), p. 425. "Learning and Recall in Bilinguals." American Journal of Psychology, Vol. LXXIV, No. 3 (September, 1961), pp. 446-451.

The problem with most research in this area, conclude Peal and Lambert,[16] as well as Joshua Fishman,[17] is that most studies have failed to account adequately for such factors as socio-economic background of the participants, standardization of translated tests, who exactly is bilingual, and what the degrees are of bilingualism and educational disadvantages experienced by the bilingual. Because of this, many results which conclude that bilingualism influences intellectual development in a certain way leave themsevles open for criticism in that the disregarded factors could have partial or full responsibility for the results. Fishman goes so far as to suggest that it is virtually impossible to conduct scientific tests on the relationship of bilingualism to intellectual development because the variables are so numerous and their effect so complex.

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[15] Rudolf Pinter, "The Influence of Language Background on Intelligence Tests," Journal of Social Psychology (1932), Vol. III, pp. 235-240.

[16] Peal and Lambert, "Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence," pp. 22-23.

[17] Joshua A. Fishman, "Bilingualism, Intelligence, and Language Learning," The Modern Language Journal, April 1965, XIIX: 4, pp. 227-236.

The most accurate testing that I have found was performed by Lambert and Peal. They took into account all of the factors listed above in their research. They expected, from studies of other people's research, that bilingualism would be shown to be an asset to non-verbal intelligence and that it should prove detrimental to verbal intelligence. However, their own summation of their results is as follows:

> The effects of bilingualism on intellectual functioning are explored in this study. A group of monolingual and a group of bilingual ten-year-old children from six Montreal French schools were administered verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests, and measures of attitudes to the English and French communities. Contrary to previous findings, this study found that bilinguals performed significantly better than monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests. Several explanations are suggested as to why bilinguals have this general intellectual advantage. It is argued that they have a language asset, are more facile at concept formation, and have a greater mental flexibility. The results of factor analysis applied to the data support the hypothesis that the structures of intellect for the two groups differ. The bilinguals appear to have a more diversified set of mental abilities than the monolinguals.[18] (Emphasis added.)

Not much research as of yet has made the distinction between bilingualism and biculturalism as to their role in intellectual development. In his attempt to study biculturalism and establish bicultural programs, Ramírez has isolated unique learning and incentive-motivational styles in Chicano children. His research shows that they need a more personalized teaching style and culture-matching curricula.[19] But there is little research on the effect of biculturalism on intellectual development, in which the participants of the experiment have been educated in modern bilingual/bicultural educational programs in this country. We can conclude from research that bilingualism advances intellectual development; we must rely on experience in biculturalism in other countries to prove biculturalism's merit. Meanwhile, all indications lead us to conclude that it too will assist intellectual development greatly.

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[18] Peal and Lambert, "Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence," pp. 21-22.

As I stated before, bilingual education, by itself, is outdated. We must produce in our schools persons who are bilingual/bicultural. And our educational programs must be designed to meet the needs of the potential biculturate. This paper discusses bilingualism and intellectual development. It is necessary that this topic be modified to include biculturalism. It is with the inclusion of biculturalism that I believe that bilingualism furthers intellectual development. What we need and must strive for is bilingual/bicultural education. That is to say, we must develop both classroom and teacher-training programs which will be geared to the development of students proficient in two languages and capable of functioning effectively in two cultures.[20] A linguistic orientation is not enough; it is a small facet only. Bicultural education in our community is needed not only for the above reasons which point to the relationship of bilingualism and intellectual development, but because of social conditions that exist in this country. Obviously, the Chicano suffers because he survived the "melting pot." In order to remedy this dissonance, we must strive for biculturalism as a route toward cultural pluralism.

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[19] Manuel Ramírez, "Cultural Democracy: A New Philosophy for Educating the Mexican American Child," The National Elementary Principal (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, Vol. L, No. 2), pp. 45-46.

[20] For a description of existing Bilingual Programs in the United States, see Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, Bilingual Schooling in the United States, (Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Vol. II, January, 1970), pp. 241-290.

So far, our discussion about the implications of bilingual/bicultural education on intellectual development has been rather abstract. We must remember that what is at stake is the development of our people, our children. Therefore, it behooves us to discuss biculturalism with direct implications for the classroom. In the Handbook of Bilingual Education, we find much about a child's early intellectual development.

> Every normal child is born with a built-in capacity--indeed what amounts to a biological imperative--to acquire language. Each child, with very little direct instruction, works out and internalizes the system, or grammar, of the language which he hears around him. This is true in all societies, from the simplest to the technologically most advanced whether literate or not. How the child does this is far from understood, but he accomplishes this seeming miracle largely between the ages of two and six. By the time he comes to school, then, he will have developed control over some 80 per cent of the grammar (and sound system) of his native language...[21]

Therefore, by the time a child is old enough to begin learning in our public school systems, much of his skill in language, much of his cultural behavior, and his personality have already been developed and determined. What he finds when he gets to school will range in a continuum from reinforcing and stimulating the learning processes he has begun or causing such a trauma that his intellectual growth can be seriously impaired.

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[21] Muriel R. Saville and Rudolph C. Troike, A Handbook of Bilingual Education, (Washington, D.C.: Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse for Linguistics, 1970) p. 13.

When a Chicano child comes into a classroom that is not designed to accommodate him, most of his "development" is negative. The child feels instantly rejected. His language is not used and may even be frowned upon. He is expected to show behaviors different from those with which he has learned to be comfortable. He is forced to function in one world, that of the home with a particular set of rules, and another world with a very different set of rules at school. He loses his sense of identity and begins to feel inferior to those students whose background allows them to feel comfortable in the traditional classroom. He is quickly forced to choose between the behaviors he is expected to play in the classroom and those at home. If he chooses the new behaviors, he becomes a "sellout." He must turn against his family and their ways, and very likely he will come to consider his family and their ways inferior to his new life-style.[22]/

However, as we have stated before, those "old ways" are already deeply ingrained in his personality and by denying them, he is denying not only his family background, he is actually turning against himself. All of his trauma and the negative self-image which result will stifle his intellectual development, and it is possible that he may never fully recover.

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[22] Manuel H. Guerra, An Evaluation and Critique of the Mexican American Studies Project, prepared by the Educational Council of the Mexican-American Political Association, (Los Angeles: University of California, n.d.).

The child's other choice is to reject the behaviors he learns in the classroom. He must turn a deaf ear toward his teacher and remain in a state resembling suspended animation while in the classroom. Freedom and relevant learning begin when the bell rings and school is over. In time, the situation becomes unbearable and the child is forced to "drop out." If school is an asset to intellectual development, the dropout certainly will have his development retarded. Not only will he lose any value that schooling may have possibly had on his life, but he does not leave school with an overwhelming feeling of freedom. The dropout cannot be expected to be mature enough to think, "That system wasn't made for me--I'll go my way and let them go theirs," and really mean it. The school he rejects has had an influence on him. The days, weeks, months, and years he has spent there have all served to teach him one thing above all else -- that he is a failure. He has learned that he is not "smart" like the rest, and that there is no respect for those who are not "smart." He has felt the isolation that comes from not being able to communicate since the school system has rejected his tools of communication, his native language, and left it dormant. When the day comes that the decision to quit school is made, he leaves, but not as a hero rejecting the institution, but instead as a failure who has been rejected. And this will be the pattern he will likely follow for the rest of his life. He will live in a world that considers him "second-rate" and he will likely have the same opinion of himself. There is not much hope for high intellectual development in a man who has been taught to believe that he is dumb.[23]

During the last decade, this country's school systems have adopted one policy after another in an attempt to deal with the problem presented by the presence of "foreign" cultures in the classroom. Several of these policies have been known as bilingual education. There has been a progression from traditional education designed for Anglo children to bilingual/bicultural educational programs. And each new development has helped produce a climate slightly better equipped for the intellectual development of Chicano students.

A few years ago, students were reprimanded for speaking foreign languages in the classroom and even on the playground. In the nineteen thirties and forties people were punished for speaking Spanish not only in the classroom, but on any part of the campus. I personally experienced this. Since I was liked by my teachers, I was not rapped on the knuckles with a ruler like my classmates -- instead I was kept after school, cuddled and counseled not to use that other language which could only lead to trouble for me. Some states had laws until recently stating that the only language acceptable for instruction in their school systems was English. As late as the fall of nineteen sixty-nine an educator saw a sign over a phone booth in the hallway of a public school: the sign read, "Use English only on this telephone."

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[23] An excellent description of the distinct world of the Anglo and Chicano student is found in these writings: Manuel Ramírez, "Cultural Democracy: A New Philosophy for Educating the Mexican American Child." The National Elementary Principal (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, Vol. L, No. 2), pp. 45-46. Miles V. Zintz, Education Across Cultures, second edition (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company), 1969. Horacio Ulibarrí, Educational Needs of the Mexican American (Las Cruces: New Mexico State University, Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, 1968).

The attitude of no Spanish at all changed to a policy of "It is permissible to speak Spanish sometimes although not too loudly and only when you have to." This change in policy was incorporated primarily to save time. If the student didn't understand, then it was permissible to use Spanish to get the point across, as long as one quickly changed to English. It was important that Spanish be used as little as possible. Otherwise it was felt that the student would begin to use Spanish as a crutch which would substantially hinder his development in school. Teachers would proudly state, "Today I didn't have to explain anything in Spanish." Perhaps one of the more positive notes of this period was that some teachers became brave enough to speak Spanish to parents. Perhaps a few more parents were able to take a more active part in their children's education.

Later it became popular to say that two languages were taught in the classroom; usually the teacher-aide spoke Spanish, the "foreign" language. Some school districts felt that if they hired Spanish-speaking people from the community to serve as teacher aides, they might have a chance for some federal money appropriated under the Bilingual Education Act. However, since it was the aide, the para-professional that spoke Spanish, and not the teacher, Spanish still did not have the status in the classroom that English did. Spanish was still the "foreign" language. The proponents of the Bilingual Education Act did not think that having a Spanish-speaking para-professional was enough, and funding was denied in these instances. Still, the impact of allowing Spanish in the classroom was felt, and many teachers felt jealous and threatened of the rapport that the teacher aide was able to establish with the children.

Next, some schools began to use two languages as the medium of instruction with content taught both in Spanish and English. This was a further result of the Bilingual Education Act. The Act forced schools wanting federal money to use Spanish as the medium of instruction. The proponents of the Act argued that we already had language classes and that the purpose of the Act was to make sure that the language in question be used as a vehicle of learning. Although the local educational programs established under the Bilingual Education Act were a step forward, many still lacked the cultural component of the language. The schools could still ignore the learning and motivational incentive styles of Chicanos.

Recently, the most progressive schools have begun the task of teaching two cultures, two distinct life-styles to their students. This must, of course, include proficiency in two languages. The language is a strong component, but only that, a component. But bicultural education has been slow to spread. One drawback is that educators and researchers alike have found it difficult to isolate the cultural components of behavior. We do not yet have the experience to determine which role in a given situation is specifically Chicano and which is specifically Anglo. Teachers in bilingual/bicultural education have many ideas which they would like to implement. But there is not research in these areas to support the classroom teacher. It is not only the classroom teacher who is affected by the lack of research; for without volumes of quantitative data to support a hypothesis, administrators will rarely establish new programs which would benefit our children.

Another problem is that while most educators agree that it is desirable to know two languages, many are slow to accept the possibility and desirability of learning two norms of behavior, two separate cultural systems. For this reason "bilingual education" has become a rather shallow term. It is perfectly acceptable to speak another language, even learn one in school, but everyone must learn to be "American," meaning primarily English speaking, thinking, and behaving. Bicultural education, although old in the world at large, is a new concept in this country, and its history is yet to be written. Bicultural education is a legitimate educational program for all and it is not to be viewed as a remedial, compensatory, or special-education program. We also need reminders that although many children enrolled in bicultural programs are poor, it is not an anti-poverty program. All children enrolled in bicultural programs will benefit. But there must be a genuine commitment in the schools where these programs are started; they cannot be commenced solely because there are federal monies around. It must be a part of the American system and continue as an integral part.

The Chicano child will continue to get shortchanged if the educational system does not alter its ways to allow him to come in as he is. The ultimate educational goal of this altered system should be to produce bicultural people. This would mean everyone, including the native English speakers. It is the only way we can get away from deprecating the minority and glorifying the majority. It is the only alternative left.

Many teaching strategies we now use will remain with us. Perhaps we will have to develop many new ones as well. But the main change will be regearing the goals . . . bicultural education for everyone! Tools will have to be regeared and perhaps even used for different reasons. Some tools will have to be used all through the educational system, not just in the primary grades as they are now. Initially, at some grade levels, it may be necessary to concentrate on ethnic studies and other similar programs to compensate for present deficiencies. However, once schools do change toward the goals of multicultural education, what are now known as separate ethnic studies will become an integral part of the curriculum for everyone.

How will English-speaking Spanish-surnamed students be treated in bicultural programs? Naturally, it will depend on their cultural system. If they live in an Anglo cultural system, their needs will be different from those who do not speak the language but have maintained a Spanish cultural system. Each student must be treated on an individual basis, for within the Chicano community, as within any other, there is a wide range of needs and behaviors. The present educational system is notably lacking in activity to meet this commitment. Although bicultural programs are desired for everyone, the strategies and content in the programs will of necessity be varied to meet individual needs.

The preceding discussion leads to guidelines which I consider necessary to the construction and implementation of bilingual/bicultural educational programs if we are to establish a climate conducive to the intellectual development of Chicano children.[24] All the sound, modern educational practices now being utilized should be continued, but some things must be added and some attitudes must be discarded.

An effective program must be characterized by community participation; but it must become a very conscious effort, because the community in the past has not been involved in the planning and execution of their own programs. There must be a redefinition of the roles and positions of the community. We need a cultural "in," and the school must accept the community as it is. The community must recommend many of the elements of the programs, and the community must become the main resource of the school.

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[24] Andersson and Boyer, Op.cit.

Of course, the curriculum must be culturally relevant. This is the only way that it will be able to stimulate intellectual development.

It must also recognize the students' particular needs and their perceptions of these needs. It has to consider the skills and attitudes of the students. In other words, the schools must know their clientele. It is also imperative that the participants' capabilities and needs be assessed continuously once the program is in operation.

The program must have both long-range and short-range goals. Perhaps the short-range goals will of necessity have many things included to correct some of the wrongs that have been done in the past which will no longer be necessary in the long-range goals. For example, it might be necessary at the beginning of bilingual/bicultural programs to have very strong ethnic-studies programs which hopefully in the long-range plan will no longer be necessary because they will be an integral part of the educational system.

The action research must be ongoing. We have to collect data to see if the participants are achieving the goals that have been set for them. A program is not good if it cannot reveal both its merits and its disadvantages. But in thinking of evaluation, we must include the community. Tests as we know them should be banished. These only lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy. We must develop new ways of measuring even our short-range goals while we are developing our long-term ones. We actually need tests to remove the negativeness that the present ones have created. The whole testing area must be looked at critically in our new programs.

The early childhood programs, for that matter all programs, should use the human resources of the community. The employment of professionals, students, and indigenous members of the community provide a valuable resource for the classroom teachers. Of course, early childhood programs must have schedules that are flexible and school days that are extended to accommodate both mothers and children. If the program is to be successful, all the supportive services of social workers and other professionals must be sought.

Of course, nonprofessionals must have training in their specific tasks and attitudes before they are employed in the classroom. Nonprofessionals should not take the place of professionals but should be an extension of help to meet the needs of the minority-group youngster.

Instruction should be carried out in the native language at the onset of education with the second language added systematically. The native language and culture should never be eliminated from the program. It should be a continuous and integral part.

Naturally, teaching materials should reflect the Chicano culture.[25] Not only should they reflect the past, but, more important, they should reflect the present. The Chicano culture is living and vibrant and the student should be able to feel this.

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[25] A source for innovations in materials for bilingual/bicultural education is Feliciano Rivera and Hector L. Córdova, "Curriculum and Materials for Bilingual, Bicultural Education," The National Elementary Principal. (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, Vol. L, No. 2), pp. 56-61.

In thinking about elementary school programs, keep in mind all the elements that will make the early education program a success. A few things will necessarily have to be added; but, by and large, a good program has the same basic principles at any grade level. The community continues to be an integral part of the school. Perhaps community advisory groups can be established, but, by way of caution, they cannot be established for tokenism. The community must be able to participate in the planning and decision-making levels that are going to affect them and their children. Along with good school-community relations, we must think of the many different ways that liaisons can be used. At the elementary school level, the reporting of "achievement" appears to be more important than in the early childhood programs. We must get away from letter grades to indicate proficiency levels of skills. There is no substitute for the personal communication between the home and the school; it is vital if bilingual/bicultural programs are to succeed.

For high school programs, again, we merely add elements to the good early-childhood programs. The counseling must be done in the homes, in the churches, in the community center, and in the streets. It cannot be confined to the school proper. The family and the peer groups must become vital parts of the counseling session in bicultural programs.

Successful Mexican American models should constantly be brought for interaction sessions with the high-school students and with the community at large. Also, we must continue to encourage parents to participate in all phases of programs which affect their children. Tutorial services are a necessity in bilingual/bicultural programs because of the things that have happened to our people in the schools up to the present. Also to be considered seriously should be the extended-day-study centers. The students must be given leadership training and if possible some of this leadership training must be encouraged outside of the school.

High school students should take classes concerned with the contribution of the Hispano-Mexican culture both past and contemporary. Classes in the history of the Southwest should be part of the curriculum.

When possible, we must provide tangible employment opportunities for our students. Part of the bilingual/bicultural program at the high-school level should certainly be providing incentives to retain high-school students in school. College programs and scholarships available to Chicanos should be fully publicized, since one of the reasons for Chicanos not going to college has been not only not knowing of the opportunities, but also not being able to afford it.

In order for Chicano students to meet with success at the university level, the university programs are also going to have to be modified completely. For one thing, admission policies will have to be changed so that the ethnic composition and population of the community is mirrored in the student population. The university must take an active role in securing funds so that it will encourage Chicano students to become full-time students. Tutorial systems should be offered to all students who need them during the first two years of college with special orientation and counseling programs throughout their educational career. The Chicano culture must be accurately discussed in all classes. Although the separate ethnic classes are short-term goals, it is hoped that in long-range goals the study of the Chicano will be legitimate in all departments of the university. The university must also reassess its involvement in the community. It must establish a commitment to the community and it must communicate and cooperate with the Chicano organizations. All the above will certainly change much of the prejudiced programs now offered at the university level.

Teacher training can be divided into general studies, professional education, and field experiences. Many things need to be changed in all three areas. Teachers must study both languages and both cultures in depth. All courses in the general studies area should be available in both languages; the language to be used should be decided by the content of the course. Southwest History, Mexican Art, Spanish Literature, and other similar topics lend themselves extremely well to be studied in Spanish. They will also have to study ideas not previously taught about today's Chicano lifestyles. Our culture is alive in the modern world, and it should be studied as such, instead of relying on the historical only. The prospective teachers will study much more in the community instead of in the classroom with professors that are not now "qualified" to teach. Community members from different walks of life often make more effective trainers for our teachers than those of us who have been trained to teach teachers. For example, Chicano poets and artists certainly are at least as well qualified to teach Chicano poetry and art as are our English professors who did their dissertations on Act III of Hamlet. But the university must continue encouraging the hiring of many more Chicano professors. Not only should the student population reflect its ethnic composition, but the professional staff should too. Chicano professors bring first-hand experiences as opposed to pure academic training. Teacher trainers must realize that the major source of materials is the community. We must use the literature, the art, etc. of the people rather than rely on outdated texts. They must learn to adopt the existing materials that have merit for use with Chicano children. Not only must they adopt the existing materials, but they must be taught to prepare new materials relevant to Chicano learning patterns and life styles. The teachers must be taught the techniques of teaching two cultures and two languages: one native and the other a second one. All personnel being trained or retrained, be they teachers, counselors, para-professionals, and/or administrators, must undergo specialized training if they are to deal with the Chicano. This of necessity includes field training, where teachers can be placed in schools where they can practice what they have learned in their general studies and professional education. Teacher trainers must take an active part in finding ways to guarantee public school administrative support for implementation of innovative techniques and programs that their potential teachers have been trained to implement. They should also take an active role in attempting to place groups of teachers together. There must be a feeling of community instead of isolation among the new teachers when they are placed to work in our community schools.

Above all else, new teachers must become agents of change. A teacher equipped with all the techniques necessary to teach bilingual/bicultural education and a thorough knowledge of his subject matter will surely fail unless he is well versed in the dynamics of social change. Any new curriculum or program that a teacher will institute will have repercussions at the administrative level and/or at the community level. The teacher must know the dynamics of social change if any of his ideas are to be implemented. He must be able, through his training, to establish the changes needed so that his new ideas can be put into practice. If the teacher is not trained to be a change agent, all of his other resources as a teacher are substantially weakened.[26]

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[26] For information on the theory and application of social change, refer to the following: Harry C. Bredemeir and Richard M. Stephenson, The Analysis of Social Systems (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962). Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems (Toronto and London: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1960). Talcott Parsons, "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change," Rural Sociology, 26 (March, 1961). Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966). Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1951).

CONCLUSION

Bilingualism must not be viewed as a problem; it is an asset. Bilingualism is not something that is found in people only when they are 3, 4, and 5 years old. Bilingualism is a lifelong process that needs nurturing. Bicultural education is meant not only for school achievement; it is meant as a life style. Bicultural children will be given choices as how to lead their lives and make decisions for those lives. Bicultural education will change the institution; the child will remain as a precious being.

Refusing our children bilingual/bicultural education will surely deny them the opportunity to develop their intellectual potential to its fullest degree. Many of us want bilingual/bicultural education for our people for many reasons. One is the simple desire to preserve our culture. However, without regard to any justification other than the knowledge that our children have been and will continue to be stymied in their intellectual growth by educational programs not suited for Chicano needs, we must become aware that bilingual/bicultural education is a necessity.

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EDITOR'S SUMMARY OF PANEL REACTIONS

Dr. Ulibarrí prefaced the discussion with an invitation to the panelists to react to several points which she felt should be expanded and for which she needed their information and opinion. She emphasized once more her contention that the cultural component in bilingual education must be incorporated, and the panelists were in wholehearted agreement. She also asked for opinions concerning the long-range intentions of educators in bilingual/bicultural education: Is it merely to get Chicanos into the economic mainstream? Does it have broader goals? She also urged consideration of the different categories of Chicano children: those who speak no Spanish, those who speak no English, etc. Finally, she requested of the panelists a bibliography that would inform the reader on the topics of bilingualism and biculturalism related to intellectual development.

Comments from the panelists began with the observation that if biculturalism is a goal of education, then a definition of Chicano culture will have to be made, including the fact that there seem to be a variety of Chicano cultures depending on the locale (Ed. note: Dr. Estupiñán's paper on the cultural arts treats this question as well as that of Dr. Ramírez on "cultural democracy").

The comment was made that whatever the recommendations suggested by the panel, the fact stands that, in general, schools have failed to meet the needs of linguistically and culturally different learners. In seeking institutional change, we should consider five points: poverty, culture, language, mobility, and societal perceptions (this, it was pointed out, is Dr. José Cárdenas's theory).

A good deal of discussion centered on the subject of what decisions educators have the right to make for the child. The statement was made that educators cannot play God and impose a set of values that the child must adopt. And yet, it was pointed out, educators have a limited amount of matter that they can present. Perhaps, it was suggested, we could insist less on teaching facts and more on teaching learning procedures according to the mode of learning the student has.

The necessity of community involvement in education which Dr. Ulibarrí mentions was discussed by the panel. In connection with this, one panelist mentioned that very often Mexican American parents must be contacted personally so that the advantages of bilingual/bicultural education might be made clear to them. Otherwise their first reaction might tend to be negative due to the suffering that they themselves have experienced with regard to their Chicano culture.

Finally, with regard to personal experiences of suffering due to one's Chicano culture, many thought that such accounts would be helpful in sensitizing the Anglo to the Chicano experience and helping him to realize the problems which exist for the Mexican American child. Dr. Ulibarrí, for instance, questioned the appropriateness of her personal description on pp. 11-12; but most of the panelists felt that this kind of account gives the Anglo in the clearest manner possible a realization of what the Mexican American is trying to accomplish.

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator: David M. Burriel, Coordinator
Elementary Compensatory Education
San Diego Unified School District

Recorder: Irene Mata
Teacher Corps Intern
The University of Texas at Austin

Panel Members: Abel G. Acosta
Community Relations Representative
Lubbock Public Schools

Eva García-Carrillo Currie
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Participating Observers:	Karen Flodin Teacher Corps Intern The University of Texas at Austin
	Socorro Sánchez Teacher Corps Intern The University of Texas at Austin

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH: THE BASIS FOR A NEW PHILOSOPHY FOR EDUCATING MEXICAN AMERICANS

Manuel Ramírez, Ph.D.
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY

MANUEL RAMÍREZ III

Dr. Ulibarrí's paper on bilingual education emphasizes the importance of the bicultural component. This, of course, presupposes that polyculturalism in the United States is a value that is reflected in the educational system, which must not then be monocultural. Dr. Ramírez, in his paper on current educational research, advances the notion of cultural democracy, the necessary pre-requisite in a society where polyculturalism can exist and flourish.

This is contrasted with the exclusionist melting-pot philosophy, which maintained for so long that the culturally different could not participate fully in American society. The distinction between the two points of view is crucial to the question of whether the child must change to fit the school or whether the school must change to accommodate the child.

Opting for the latter choice, Dr. Ramírez considers some of the implications with regard to the Mexican American child: his communication style, his human relational style, his incentive-motivational style, and his cognitive style. If the Mexican American child is to be educated, these factors in his personality must be explored.

Following the summary of panel reactions to Dr. Ramírez's paper is a critique by Dr. Ernest M. Bernal, Jr., who questions and develops some of the ramifications of Dr. Ramírez's ideas.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH: THE BASIS FOR A NEW PHILOSOPHY FOR EDUCATING MEXICAN AMERICANS

Manuel Ramírez III

Yo tengo derecho a mi idioma y mi cultura.
I have a right to my language and my culture.
Saber me idioma y mi cultura me ayuda a ser un
buen ciudadano.
Knowing my language and my culture will help
me to become a good citizen.
El Acta de los Derechos Civiles de 1964 protege
mis derechos de poder hablar me idioma y de
continuar mi cultura.
The Civil Rights Act of 1964 protects my right
to speak my language and continue to identify
with my culture.

Introduction

The above quotations were taken from posters. These have faces of Mexican-American children and are being distributed by the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The text of the posters reflects the evolution of a new philosophy of education--cultural democracy.[1]

Educational research has played a major role in the development of this new philosophy and in challenging the tenets of the old ideology. This paper describes cultural democracy, reviews recent research findings which support it and gives reasons for rejection of the exclusionist melting-pot philosophy (Castañeda, 1971). In addition, the paper reviews two research and development projects which are developing strategies for implementation of the new philosophy.

I. Cultural Democracy

Cultural democracy refers to the legal rights of an individual to be different while at the same time being a responsible member of a larger society. More specifically, it states that a person can be bicultural and still be loyal to American ideals. It recognizes that the way a person communicates (communication style), relates to others (human relational style), seeks support, acceptance and recognition (incentive-motivational style) and learns (cognitive style) is a product of the value system of his home and neighborhood. Furthermore, it states that any educational environment which either ignores or rejects any of these behaviors is culturally undemocratic because it rejects a person's right (as guaranteed by the Civil Rights Act of 1964) to remain identified with the culture and language of his ethnic group.

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[1] For a more extensive discussion, see Ramírez, M., and Castañeda, A., Cultural Democracy in Education: The Case of the Mexican American Child, to be published by Seminar Press; and also Castañeda, A., "Melting Potters vs. Cultural Pluralists: Implications for Education," in Castañeda, A., et al Mexican Americans and Educational Change, Mexican American Studies, U.C. Riverside, Riverside, California, May, 1971.

The common practice in many schools of the Southwest of punishing children for speaking Spanish is culturally undemocratic. For one thing, the child who has been taught all his life in Spanish feels uncomfortable when he is suddenly required to abandon all of his home schooling. Knowledge of the Spanish language is, moreover, an extremely important part of Mexican American culture. Whatever his intention, anyone who keeps a Mexican American child from learning or valuing Spanish has unknowingly created many painful social problems for the child. Rejection of Spanish by his teacher is likely to be interpreted by the child as rejection of everything in his life which is related to Mexican American culture. Instead of being provided with the opportunity for becoming bicultural, the child is thus forced to decide on one culture or the other. Worst of all, the pressures at school force the child to make a choice at a time in his life when he cannot possibly understand the probable long-term consequences. Cultural democracy requires that the school not make the choice for the child. A culturally democratic learning environment would be a setting where a Mexican American child acquires knowledge about his own and the dominant culture; the learning, furthermore, is based on communication, human relational, incentive-motivational and cognitive styles which are culturally appropriate for that child. Cultural democracy, then, emphasizes that it is the educational system which must change to accommodate itself to the uniqueness of the child.

II. Failures of the Exclusionist Melting-Pot Philosophy

Culturally undemocratic educational environments were characteristic of those schools that adhered to the exclusionist melting-pot philosophy. This philosophy promoted the belief that the experiences the culturally different child had had in his home and neighborhood interfered with his intellectual and emotional development. Furthermore, it considered that if a child continued to identify with his ethnic group he could not participate fully in American society. For this reason, schools which adhered to this philosophy made an effort to change children so that they would conform to the image of the American mainstream middle class. This philosophy is best exemplified in the writings of a famous American educator, E. P. Cubberly (1909). He described the culturally different as "illiterate," "docile," lacking in "self-reliance" and "initiative" and as presenting problems of "proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions." He states, "Everywhere these people settle in groups or settlements, they set up their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and to amalgamate these people as a part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth."

These remarks by Cubberly are to this day reflected in many statements of educators and social scientists as they make efforts to explain the findings of their research on Mexican Americans. They are also embedded in the rationale of many programs of compensatory education for Mexican Americans. In fact the exclusionist melting-pot point of view has led social scientists and educators to make biased interpretations of research findings. These interpretations, in turn, are being used as the basis for many culturally undemocratic educational programs which are currently being implemented throughout the U. S. Consider two such researchers. Heller (1966) in her book, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, formed conclusions regarding the relationships of Mexican American culture to education which were based on the exclusionist melting-pot ideology. She states that Mexican American homes, "fail to provide independence training" and that the "indulgent attitudes" of Mexican American parents tend to "hamper" the child's "need for achievement." In reference to the strong kinship ties among Mexican Americans she concludes, "this type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility." More recently Schwartz (1969) has also made interpretations of research findings from the perspective of the exclusionist melting pot. She administered a reading test to Mexican American high school students. The results revealed that students who performed well on the test were more independent from parental control. To explain these findings, Schwartz concluded that by moving away from the strong influence of the family the Mexican American pupil frees himself from cultural ties which may inhibit his achievement. The author states, "one can conclude from this analysis that as opportunities are presented to Mexican American youth for some acculturation to Anglo values, so are opportunities presented for greater educational achievement." Thus, it seems that those who adhere to the exclusionist melting-pot philosophy not only assume that the culture of Mexican Americans has negative effects on the intellectual and emotional development of Mexican American children but also that the educational system need not to be altered in any way. Educational programs developed on the basis of these conclusions then assume that the child is disadvantaged and must be changed (see Figure 1). Consider the rationale of one such program, "Mexican Americans are deficient in both Spanish and English, have little experience in manipulating objects, and have little sense of time as an ordered sequence of events" (Maccoby and Zellner, 1970--describing the Tucson Early Education Approach).

A. Research Findings

Data which have been recently published have made it increasingly apparent that educational programs based on the exclusionist melting-pot philosophy have had negative consequences for Mexican Americans.

1. Failure from an educational point of view: The inadequacy of the present educational system becomes most apparent when one examines figures comparing years of educational attainment among the major ethnic groups in the U. S. In her book, Mexican Americans, Moore (1970) observes, "Throughout the Southwest the Mexican American adult population was too badly educated in 1960 to participate effectively in modern American society. They attained a median 7.1 years of schooling as compared with 12.1 for Anglos and 9.0 for non-whites

(adults of 25 years and over). In California the figure was highest, 8.6 years. It is lowest in Texas at 4.8 years or only slightly better than functional illiteracy. In all states Negroes are better educated than Mexican Americans. (Non-white medians are pulled down in New Mexico and Arizona by the large proportion of Indians with an extremely low level of schooling). Among Mexican Americans the incidence of functional illiteracy (0 to 4 years of elementary school) is seven times that of the Anglo population and nearly twice that of the non-white as a whole." The failures of the system are also evident at the college and university level. Moore (1970) states, "In 1960 an extremely small proportion of Mexican Americans reached college. Only 5.6 percent of persons aged 14 or over could report some college; four times as many Anglos reported some college and twice as many non-whites attended college."

2. Failure from a sociological and psychological point of view: Culturally undemocratic educational environments have not only failed Mexican Americans from an educational point of view but from a sociological and psychological perspective as well. The failure of these classroom environments to accomodate the communication, human relation, incentive-motivational and cognitive styles of Mexican American children has led to cultural value conflicts which have, in turn, created severe psychological and social problems for these children and their parents. Research with Mexican American junior and senior high school students (Ramírez and Taylor, 1967) revealed that these value conflicts resulted in a reduced motivation to achieve and in negative attitudes toward school personnel and the school environment in general. Educational experiences based on the

exclusionist melting-pot philosophy also resulted in conflicts between Mexican American students and their parents and also between Mexican American parents and school personnel. The net result of these conflicts is a separation of the two worlds in which a Mexican American child lives.

3. The Mexican American Education Study of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission: Additional documentation relative to the failures of the exclusionist melting-pot philosophy with Mexican Americans can be found in the reports of the Mexican American Education Study conducted by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Report I entitled, "Ethnic Isolation of Mexican American Public Schools of the Southwest," was released in April, 1971. Additional reports are forthcoming.

III. Current Research Which Supports the Philosophy of Cultural Democracy in Education

As the struggle against the melting-pot philosophy was taking place, research from the psychological laboratory was beginning to emerge which gave strong support to advocates of cultural democracy.

The most critical of these studies did not involve Mexican Americans, but was nevertheless destined to play an important role in the struggle for cultural democracy. This research was conducted by Lesser and his colleagues (1965) at Harvard. They determined that members of different ethnic groups exhibit different patterns of intellectual ability, each group achieving better in some areas than in others. First grade children of four cultural groups, Chinese, Jewish, Black and Puerto Rican, were tested. The results showed that the intellectual patterns held across socio-economic groups within the same culture. For example, the findings showed that Jewish children performed best on tasks of verbal ability and had difficulty on tasks of space-conceptualization, while the reverse was true for Chinese American children. These findings imply that intellectual patterns observed in these cultural groups are manifestations of culturally unique learning styles. That is, each culture emphasizes the importance of achievement in certain areas and not in others. Valuing particular forms of achievement, parents and other cultural representatives employ culturally sanctioned teaching styles to develop certain interests and aptitudes in children. The Lesser study was the single most important piece of research with respect to the acceptance of the major premise of the philosophy of cultural democracy in education. There is, however, another series of studies which is more critical to the case of the Mexican American.[2] These studies will be grouped under one of three major characteristics of personality: incentive-motivational styles, human relational styles, and cognitive styles.

A. Incentive-Motivational Styles

Kagan and Madsen (1971) compared the performance of Anglo, Mexican, and Mexican American children on a task that could be either cooperative or competitive. When rewards could only be achieved when two children working on a task cooperated with each other, Mexican children were most cooperative, Mexican American were next most cooperative, and the Anglos were the least cooperative of all. When, in turn, rewards were offered for competitive performance between children on the same task, Anglo children were more competitive than either Mexican or Mexican American children. These findings document cultural difference in motivational orientation. It would appear that Anglo children have a history of being reinforced for achievement through competition, whereas Mexican and Mexican American children are reinforced more frequently for achievement through cooperation.

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[2] Mexican American children, who served as subjects in the Ramírez, Price-Williams, and Beman study, could be categorized as traditional, i.e., their families were closely identified with the values of rural Mexican culture. My intent is not to generalize to all Mexican Americans, but merely to indicate that the variables identified in this research should be taken into consideration with Mexican American children. They are going to be more applicable to certain populations of Mexican American children than to others. These variables, then, should serve only as a focus and not as a strict description of all Mexican Americans.

Ramírez, Price-Williams, and Beman (in progress) administered the School Picture Stories Technique to Anglo and Mexican American fourth-grade children in Houston, Texas. This instrument consists of a series of picture cards of educational scenes, i.e., child and teacher in classroom, child with books in hand, and parent at home, etc. When the stories given by the children were scored with the traditional need-achievement scoring system (based on achievement for the self), Anglo children scored significantly higher than Mexican American children. However, when the need achievement for the family scoring system was used (focusing on the child's need to achieve so that his parents would be proud of him or her), Mexican American children scored significantly higher than Anglo children. Closely related to this finding was the fact that stories given by Mexican American children reflected a consistent theme. When a child's parents became involved in the educational process, the child succeeded. The findings of this study would seem to indicate that the family plays a crucial role in the motivational orientation of Mexican American children.

B. Human Relational Styles

In the same study mentioned above (Ramírez, Price-Williams, and Beman, in progress), analysis of the stories given to the picture cards according to need succorance (i.e. the need for support and encouragement from an authority figure), revealed that Mexican American children had scored higher on this variable than Anglo children. This was particularly evident in stories given to those cards showing students interacting with teachers. This indicated that Mexican American culture encourages relationships to authority figures which differ from those of Anglo culture.

Another aspect of this study (Ramírez, Price-Williams, and Beman, in progress) involved asking Mexican American and Anglo children to free associate to the names of their three best friends for a limited time period of ten seconds per name. The results showed that Mexican American children had given more associations than Anglo children. In addition, Chicano children scored higher in cognitive complexity, i.e., their associations could be grouped into more categories such as physical characteristics, social characteristics and intellectual characteristics of persons to whose names they had associated. This would seem to indicate that Mexican American culture not only reinforces children for being more responsive to the human environment, but it also provides more opportunities for articulating and classifying it.

C. Cognitive Styles

Another finding of the Ramírez, Price-Williams, and Beman (in progress) study was that testing with the Portable Rod and Frame Test revealed that, in general, Mexican American children were significantly more field dependent than Anglo children.[3] A similar finding was obtained in the Riverside School Desegregation Study (Canavan, 1969).

Field dependence-independence has both intellectual and affective correlates and can thus subsume all the research findings which we have reviewed thus far. For example, research has shown that field-dependent and -independent children exhibit the following characteristics:

> Field dependents do better on verbal tasks of intelligence tests, learn better when the material has human content and is characterized by fantasy and humor, perform better when authority figures express confidence in their ability; and conversely, their performance is depressed when authority figures express doubt in them.
>
> Field independents do better on visual-motor tasks (i.e. putting parts together to make a whole or extracting parts from a whole) of intelligence tests,

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[3] The Portable Rod and Frame Test consists of a polyethelene plastic box. The box rests on a table, and the child is asked to position his head at one end of the box. Directly in front of him he sees a black frame and a black rod--both the rod and the frame can be turned independently of each other. The experimenter raises a screen in front of the subject's eyes, and then moves the rod and frame twenty-eight degrees off the vertical. He then lowers the screen and asks the subject to tell him in which direction to move the rod to return it to its vertical position. He warns the subject that the frame will remain tilted so that he ought not guide himself by the tilt of the frame. Subjects are given eight trials, and the score is the average number of degrees error over the eight trials.

> learn better when material is abstract, impersonal and tied to reality. Their performance is not significantly affected by the opinions of authority figures.

The variable of field dependence-independence is also closely associated with culture through socialization practices of home and community. Cultures encouraging development of individual identities appear to be characterized by field independence in their members, whereas those which encourage a family identity or any other type of group identity result in a field-dependent cognitive style. Based on the results obtained in the research findings discussed above, the Mexican American culture would seem to be of the latter type.

The concept of cognitive style encompasses many variables related to school achievement. It thus has implications for making changes in teacher training, curriculum, and assessment practices. For example, a study of cognitive style by Di Stefano (1969) provided some insights into the dynamics of interpersonal relations between students and teachers. Five extremely field-independent teachers and five extremely field-dependent teachers at a university were required to describe eleven students. These students, who were also classified as either field-dependent or field-independent, were also required to describe the teachers. The results showed that people with similar cognitive styles tend to describe each other in highly positive terms, while people whose cognitive styles are different have a strong tendency to describe each other in negative terms. Di Stefano also found that: (1) teachers tended to rate students of their same cognitive style as being more successful than those of the opposing style, (2) field-dependent teachers tended to be less "harsh" in their grading than field-independent teachers with field-independent teachers being harsher in grading field-dependent students, and (3) field-independent teachers tended to concentrate in the areas of science and mathematics. These findings raise the possibility of a somewhat unusual form of professional discrimination. If teachers view students with similar cognitive styles as being more successful, they are likely to encourage these students more and to give them higher grades, hence, continuing the concentration in their discipline of individuals with their same cognitive styles. When we examine the results of another study by Cohen (1969) the above findings by Di Stefano become very critical for Mexican Americans. Cohen did an analysis of schools in terms of cognitive style. This analysis revealed that most educational environments were biased in the direction of field independence. This bias included teaching strategies, curriculum, and achievement tests. Thus, the possible professional discrimination raised by the Di Stefano results is most likely to operate against Mexican Americans (since most Mexican Americans are of field-dependent cognitive style). This means that the educational environments in most educational institutions are most likely culturally undemocratic for Mexican Americans.

IV. Development of Strategies for Implementing Cultural Democracy

There is need then for strategies which can change the educational environments to make them more culturally democratic, i.e., to make these environments more responsive to the incentive-motivational, human relational, and cognitive styles of Mexican American children. The end goal is development of learning environments which can lead to the academic success of most Mexican Americans without forcing them to repudiate their bicultural identity. In fact, these learning environments should contribute to the strengthening of that identity.

At the University of California, Riverside, we have been working on two research and development projects which are focusing on devising strategies for implementing cultural democracy. One of these projects is the Bicultural/Bilingual Follow-Through Model for grades kindergarten, first and second (Ramírez, Alemany, Herold, Macaulay, and Richards, 1971). The following are some of the strategies which we are developing through this model.

A. Bicultural/Bilingual Follow-Through Model

1. Strategies for Parent Involvement

It should be recognized that Chicano parents are the representatives of the language and culture which should be implemented through bilingual programs; more importantly, they represent the teaching styles which are compatible with the learning styles of Chicano children. Chicano parents, then, should be involved as teacher trainers and instructors. In the Bicultural/Bilingual Follow-Through Model at U.C.R., we have been experimenting with the following approaches for parent involvement:

a. Spanish as a second language for teachers: Parents are remunerated to serve as teachers of Spanish for non-Mexican American teachers. The lessons are geared to teach classroom vocabulary, communication, and human relational styles which Mexican American children are exposed to in the home, as well as values of Mexican American culture. The object of this component is three-fold:

(1) To make monolingual teachers effective in a bilingual classroom (although more and more Chicano teachers are entering the job market, there are still not enough of them available to meet the needs).

(2) To sensitize teachers to Chicano culture, teaching styles, relational, and communication styles.

(3) Most important of all, to make parents partners in the educational process so as to effect a closer relationship between the barrio and the school.

Our results with the SSLT component have been very gratifying. We have found that negative stereotypes (which Anglo teachers and Mexican American parents held of each other) have broken down, and that a sense of excitement tends to develop out of their experience of working together.

b. Chicano parents involved in solving the problems of the barrio are hired by the model to sensitize teachers to Mexican American culture: This is done with a Peace Corps-type training approach; teachers work under community people in the local poverty agency in the barrio, the Day Care Center, the summer Head Start program, etc. The objective here is to move away from the typical passive approach of acquainting teachers with the Chicano community, i.e., lectures, readings, films, the bus tour of the barrio, and get them to actually experience what the people there are thinking and feeling, and the problems they encounter daily. This approach also seeks to dispel negative stereotypes of the barrio. In many cases, we have found that teachers and other school personnel have a phobia of the barrio which permeates their relationships with Chicano parents, Mexican American teachers' aides, and Chicano children. We must overcome and destroy these stereotypes and fears, for only in this way can we get teachers to realize the inappropriateness of the culture-is-damaging philosophy.

c. Parents are also remunerated for teaching at home and at school, and for helping to develop heritage curriculum for the program: Parents have a very rich Chicano and Mexican oral history; they have knowledge of folk tales, songs, dances, etc. It is a crime that Mexican American children in many communities have been made to feel by the schools that they are ahistorical, and that their parents and grandparents have not contributed to the development of the Southwest. We can correct this injustice by asking parents to contribute resource materials for the heritage curriculum.

Approaching parents on heritage materials, we have found, is a good avenue for enlisting their help in teaching other aspects of curriculum as well. In conjunction with this, a home instructional program has been instituted. This involves having community aides take educational toys, books, and specially prepared curriculum units into the home (these deal with the same concepts which children are learning in the classroom). The community aides demonstrate these to the parents, then leave them at home so that the parents might use them with their children. The units are bilingual (a sample unit can be found in the appendix); we have found them most useful in dispelling fears and apprehensions which both Anglo and Chicano parents have of bilingual/bicultural programs. Once they begin to participate actively, parents see the great value of Spanish as a medium of instruction; this results in their using more Spanish at home with their children. The home instructional program also contains units on the administrative structure of the schools, informing parents as to the roles of different school personnel and the different programs in which their children are participating (children in one family may be enrolled in a Title I, Title VII, and Follow-Through Program). We have also found that units dealing with possible value conflicts (which might occur because of differences in values and life styles between Anglo and Chicano cultures) have allowed parents to articulate fears of and resentments towards school which they could not express before.

2. Strategies for Teacher Training and Curriculum Development

a. Culture-matching teaching strategies: These are a series of teacher behaviors which were arrived at through research on teaching approaches of Mexican American mothers and the teaching atmosphere of the Chicano home and neighborhood. The following are examples from the CMTS (a copy of the CMTS can be found in the appendix):

(1) Extent to which teacher uses Spanish in the classroom: teachers and aides are encouraged to use Spanish, not only when the curriculum is being presented in Spanish, but throughout

the day, and particularly when they are giving verbal reinforcement to the children so that both Anglo and Chicano children may come to associate positive feelings with the Spanish language.

(2) Extent to which teacher personalizes: encouragement is given to have the teacher interject her own personality (in terms of past experiences) into her teaching strategy, and in addition, to have the teacher incorporate information she has about the child's life style into this same strategy. An example of the latter can be use of information she has on the child's family or the child's favorite games and toys. For example, in teaching concepts of size she might say, "Now, this cylinder is little like your baby brother, and this one is big like your father." An example of the former could be relating an anecdote from the teacher's life which adds interest and gives a personal touch to the curriculum she is presenting.

(3) Achievement for the family: the teacher encourages the child to achieve so that his parents will be proud of him. She invites parents into the classroom and also goes to the homes to demonstrate what the child has achieved. The child is rewarded with materials which can be shared with other family members and is encouraged to use them for teaching younger siblings.

(4) Cultural highlighting: the extent to which the teacher refers to Chicano and Mexican culture throughout the school day, and even in aspects of the curriculum which might have no direct relevance to heritage. There are constant reminders for the child that he is justified in being proud of his heritage and that the

values of his home and neighborhood can be part and parcel of the instructional atmosphere of the classroom.

These and other behaviors are contained in a classroom observation instrument. The teacher is given a tally for each of the behaviors she uses with several thirty-second periods of observation. The teacher is also videotaped as she teaches her lesson. Upon completion of the observation period, observer and teacher review the videotape and the CMTS rating form to see where she used, or failed to use, the different strategies. A portable radio communication system can also be used to train teachers on CMTS while they are teaching (Herold, Ramírez and Newkirk, 1971).

The main purpose of the CMTS is to have teachers focus on the child's uniqueness and to acknowledge that the heritage and past learning experiences of Chicano children should be recognized in the classroom. The intention here is not to make generalizations about all Chicano children, but to give teachers a technique for conceptualizing the unique learning styles of many Chicano children.

b. Culture-matching curriculum pairs important heroes and events in Mexican American and Mexican history with those in Anglo history: The aim is to establish a positive bicultural self-image in Chicano children, and a positive view of Chicanismo on the part of Anglo students, parents, and teachers.

In addition to the above materials, we have also developed family studies contrasting the values of the Chicano with those of the Anglo family: the message here is that although values and life styles differ, both are equally acceptable. Units on Latin

American Indian groups emphasize achievements in government, philosophy, the arts, and sciences to dispel negative stereotypes of Indians. Incidents which are significant to the Chicano Civil Rights Movement such as the grape strikes, the boycotts, and the school walkouts are also included. One of the main goals of the curriculum is to show that Mexicans and Mexican Americans have made great contributions to the development of the Southwest and its present bicultural character.

3. Strategies for Assessment

The third major focal point for institutional change is in the area of selection of instruments and criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of bilingual programs. Major concern should not be with how Chicano children perform on prejudiced and outmoded tests of academic achievement. More emphasis should be given to the degree of ethnic pride exhibited by these children, and to the degree to which Anglo students and teachers view the Spanish language and Chicano culture positively. Programs based on the cultural exclusion philosophy have produced negative self-images in many Chicano children and have also maintained and reinforced the negative stereotypes of Chicano culture held by Anglo students, parents, and school personnel.

We have been developing a classroom observation technique which allows us to evaluate ethnic pride. It focuses on the following behaviors of children:

a. Speaks Spanish willingly: (1) speaks Spanish spontaneously in and out of the classroom, (2) does not hesitate to respond in Spanish or at least makes an attempt to do so when addressed in Spanish, (3) takes the initiative in speaking Spanish with others, (4) helps adults and other children learn Spanish in the classroom (that is, he helps the teacher and tutors other children), and (5) enjoys lessons in Spanish.

b. Does not reject other Mexican Americans as peers: this is another general category of pathological behaviors created by an educational system fostering cultural exclusion which causes Chicano children to reject members of their own ethnic group. Behaviors we look for in this category are: (1) joins in activities with other Mexican American children, (2) speaks favorably of other Mexican American children, and (3) helps and tutors other Chicanos willingly, and seeks to befriend Chicano children rejected by other class members.

c. In line with not rejecting Mexican Americans as friends, we also believe that ethnic pride means that the child does not limit his friendships exclusively to Chicano peers. We look for the child's willingness to interact with children who are not of Mexican descent in this category. An undemocratic system creates ethnic isolationism.

d. Acknowledges Mexican American culture: (1) the child talks about Mexican holidays and Mexican and Mexican American heroes, (2) he enjoys role-playing the Chicano-heritage lessons, (3) he enjoys doing Mexican dances or participating in Mexican games, (4) he listens attentively to stories, classroom activities related to Chicano culture, and (5) he brings culturally distinct toys, foods, and objects from home.

e. Exhibits cultural role versatility: (1) appears to be equally comfortable when interacting with Chicano and Anglo peers, and (2) enjoys playing both Chicano and Anglo roles in heritage productions.

In addition to the instrument for assessing ethnic pride, we are also developing measures of academic achievement which are related to success criteria in a bicultural/bilingual program.

B. Multilingual Assessment Project, Riverside Component

The other research and development project we have been working on is the Multilingual Assessment Project.[4] This project is funded by Title VII Office of the U. S. Office of Education and is primarily concerned with developing instruments for assessing children whose primary language is other than English. The assessment instruments are also supposed to yield guidelines for teacher training and curriculum development in order to develop culturally democratic learning environments for the culturally different. The primary mission of the Riverside component of this project is to work with the field dependent-independent variable to achieve these goals. The following work is currently in progress:

1. Research Relating Socialization Practices and Mexican American Values to Cognitive Styles of Children

Children are being tested with the Rod and Frame Test in two different communities, and parents are being interviewed in an attempt to isolate socialization practices and values which are closely related to cognitive style.

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[4] The Multilingual Assessment Project, Riverside Component is directed by Alfredo Castañeda and Manuel Ramírez. The main project is located in Stockton, California, and is directed by Joe Ulibarrí.

2. Strategies for Teacher Training and Curriculum Development Based on the Field Dependent-Independent Approach

It is envisioned that these will take the form of four packages.[5]

a. Procedures for helping the teacher assess the cognitive styles of Mexican American children. These techniques will be based on characteristics of the community, characteristics of the child, and socialization practices of parents.

b. Procedures for helping teachers assess their own cognitive styles. This will help a teacher to determine the type of training she/he will need to insure that her/his teaching style is consonant with the cognitive style of her/his students.

c. Techniques for determining the cognitive style which is reflected in the curriculum and the learning environment of the school.

d. Training procedures for insuring that teachers will become competent in both styles (in terms of both teaching strategies and curriculum development).

V. Implications for Early Childhood and Higher Education

A. Parent-Child Centers and Head Start

Educational strategies for Mexican Americans implemented under both these programs are based largely on the exclusionist melting-pot ideology. These approaches are usually referred to as interventionist, the implication being that children must be saved from the damaging effects of their homes and neighborhoods.

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[5] These packages will be field tested in sites located in four states of the Southwest.

B. Higher Education

Many colleges and universities throughout the country are admitting more Mexican American students than ever before and most of these institutions are developing programs of Mexican American studies. For the most part, however, the system of higher education remains unchanged. Few, if any, institutions of higher learning are attempting to alter teaching strategies and curricula to conform to the communication, human relational, incentive-motivational and cognitive styles of Mexican American students. When traditional instructional practices are challenged, the most frequent answer is to avoid critical examination by claiming that change would result in lowering academic standards. The implication is that the cognitive style of Mexican Americans is inferior. Thus the response of most institutions has been to expand tutorial services, thereby trying to change the student to fit the system. This is the exclusionist melting pot at its worst. If institutions of higher learning are to set an example for elementary and secondary schools, they must begin to implement the philosophy of cultural democracy. Most strategies mentioned in this paper could be easily adapted for college and university environments.

Conclusion

Although I have focused on the case of the Mexican American in this paper, it is probably obvious to the reader that cultural democracy is equally applicable to all peoples in this country. A good many members of the mainstream American middle class are also field dependent in cognitive style and thus, like Mexican Americans, they are being disenfranchised by our present educational system. The struggle for equal educational opportunity for Mexican Americans then is a struggle of vital interest to all Americans.

Figure 1:
The diagrams below highlight the differences between melting-pot and cultural democracy philosophies.

	Variations in Cultural Values	Socialization Styles of Home and Community	Personality Characteristics of Children	What is Changed	Goal
MELTING POT	Unique cultural values are not recognized. Differences are attributed to culture of poverty.	Seen as interfering with child's development	Seen as defiant and unacceptable.	The child.	Child is molded into the image of the Anglo middle class
CULTURAL DEMOCRACY	Differences in cultural values considered important. Mexican American communities are classified as either: 1. traditional 2. dualistic 3. atraditional	Seen as valuable teaching styles which must be used as a basis for teacher training.	Seen as a basis on which culturally democratic learning environments must be developed. Classified into four areas: 1. incentive-motivational styles. 2. human relational styles 3. cognitive styles 4. communication styles.	The educational system through: 1. parent involvement. 2. new teaching strategies and curriculum. 3. new assessment techniques.	Child is bicultural

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APPENDIX

CULTURE-MATCHING TEACHING STRATEGY

DESCRIPTION OF TEACHER BEHAVIORS

A. Indicates acceptance nonverbally by making frequent use of the following behaviors:

   1. Hugging or embracing child.
   2. Smiling at child.
   3. Nodding or winking to child.
   4. Speaking in an approving tone of voice.
   5. Placing hand on child's head, shoulder, arm, etc.

B. Personalizes curriculum and all informal teaching. Personalization can be achieved by the teacher's:

   1. telling an anecdote about herself, e.g., "I grew up on a farm just like Benito Juárez did; let me tell you about the farm my father had."
   2. relating a concept or classroom activity to the child's family, friends, or personal experiences:
      a. When discussing shapes, the teacher says, "I have many round things in my house--what do you have in your house that is round?"
      b. When reviewing sizes, the teacher says, "This cylinder is small like your sister, Juanita; this one is much larger--like your father."

3. asking the child to relate his personal experiences: "Miguelito was tired after walking for such a long time; when have you been as tired as Miguel? Please tell me about that time."

C. Encourages cooperation, either by example or by bringing cooperation to attention of students. Examples include:

1. Encouraging showing of learning materials, toys, and classroom facilities.
2. Requesting children to give and receive help from one another: "Frank, you know your numbers; can you help Chito find the numbers on his page? Chito, would you like Frank to work with you?"
3. Building feelings of working as a group: "Let's have our class be the best"; "Let's work together to put on a puppet show"; "It's time for us to sit together and sing our new song."

D. Uses Spanish in teaching and in casual conversations (see SSLT dialogue for examples). Throughout the school day, the teacher is observed:

1. Presenting concepts in both Spanish and English.
2. Asking children how something would be said in Spanish.
3. Pronouncing Spanish names correctly: "Señor Hernández will show you how, Juanito."
4. Mixing Spanish and English: "This block is rojo; pero su lápiz es de que color?"

5. Carrying on conversations in Spanish with teaching associates.

E. Highlights and signifies cultural backgrounds of students. Classroom is characterized by teachers':

1. Discussing the importance of Mexican holidays and Mexican history.
2. Providing visible reminders of achievements by Mexican or Mexican American figures (e.g., bulletin board displaying Jim Plunkett, Caesar Chávez, Lee Treviño, Trini López, Miguel Hidalgo).
3. Identifying differences in ways cultural groups do things ("Some of your families make menudo for Sunday breakfast--others of you have pancakes on Sunday; both menudo and pancakes make a very good breakfast.").
4. Frequently making positive reference to occupations and interests of parents in the local community--especially activities that avoid cultural stereotypes.
5. Relating cultural accomplishments to "neutral" material ("That's right, Roberto--people do pay a lot of money for silver. Did you know that more silver comes from Mexico than from any other country? People all over the world pay money for Mexican silver.").

F. Identifies and encourages achievement for the family. Examples include:

1. Shifting prestige from individuals to their families:

"Your family will be proud of you, Roberto"; "Wouldn't you like to take your picture home and show it to your parents?"

2. Mentioning family achievements in stories and in other teaching activities.
3. Creating ties between the home and classroom--either sending notes about children's progress or displaying materials in the classroom that the child worked on at home (such as items from the parent package).

G. Elicits modelling or imitation by students when appropriate for a particular student in certain situations. The teacher is observed making it possible for children to model her behavior:

1. Requesting or encouraging the child to repeat what the teacher has just done ("Carlos, you say 'Viva la Independencia!'" or "I told you my favorite color, now please tell me yours."
2. Encouraging the child to take or play the teacher's role: "I'm the teacher who shows you how to use the scissors. When I finish, I want you to be the teacher and to show Terry how to use the scissors."
3. Calling the child's attention to his imitation of the teacher ("Look, Juan, your number eight has a face in it; it looks just like the one I drew.").
4. Making it easy for children to know the teacher and her ways--

i.e., telling children about her interests and displaying her own work.

H. Encourages role-playing and expression of fantasy. Teachers encourage these activities by:

1. Creating dramatic situations in which children can pretend to be some*one* or some*thing* they are not (e.g., "Pretend you're a lion sneaking up behind me"; "When you're sitting in the chair here, hold on to the sides like an astronaut taking off for the moon"; "Show me how you would throw the ball if you were Jim Plunkett.").
2. Providing materials that make role-playing and fantasy expression possible:
   - a. makes puppet theater easily accessible
   - b. provides "prop box" with attractive objects--e.g., police badges, pilot goggles, magazine cut-outs, special hats
   - c. sets aside small area for "make believe"
3. Encouraging children to tell or write about their own stories or to make up additions to stories they hear in class ("What would *you* do, Claudia, if *you* saw the ships with the English soldiers?" or "Where would *you* go to hide from the soldiers?").

Except in Unusual Circumstances, Teachers Should *Avoid* the Following:

I. Assigns inappropriate sex roles. Depending on their backgrounds and age, children are embarrassed or made to feel socially awkward when teachers:

1. Ask or order a boy to take the part of the girl (or a girl to take the part of a boy) in a play or game. Examples include telling a boy to pretend that he is making the beds, cooking, or doing any household chore that Mexican tradition (or any other culture) assigns to women.
2. Comparing boys to girls or girls to boys when children are sensitive about such comparisons. Examples include:
   a. "You're silly Francisco, you're acting just like a little girl."

EDITOR'S SUMMARY OF PANEL REACTIONS

A significant question brought up in the panel discussion following Dr. Ramírez's presentation concerned the relation which "cultural democracy" has to the notion of "counter culture" as expounded by Rozak in The Making of a Counter Culture. In the editor's opinion, Dr. Ramírez's main point seems to be that in the cultural democracy the individual has a right to identify with and live his culture, while the counter culture theory points out that in a culturally pluralistic society (which might or might not be culturally democratic, and that according to degree) such as the United States, the blend of counter cultures is what produces the weakness as well as the strength of the nation. One might well ask whether the strength of the nation in which counter cultures interact is proportional to the degree of its cultural democracy.

The panelists also suggested that when we speak of biculturalism and bicultural democracy we ought to consider several possibilities: (1) will this end up in a delayed but nonetheless inevitable acculturation? (2) Will it simply be the taking of a position somewhere between the Anglo culture and the traditional Mexican American culture? (3) Will it take the form of "compound biculturalism" in which some sectors of the individual's life belong to one culture and the other sectors belong to another? (4) If true biculturalism is different from the above three, what does it imply?

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator: Rudy Córdova, Deputy Director of Teacher Corps
Washington, D. C.

Recorder: Rita Wilson
Teacher Corps Intern
The University of Texas at Austin

Panel Members: Lisa Baldonado
Teacher Corps
Adams State College

Ernest M. Bernal, Jr., Director
Migrant Learning Systems Design
Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

Alfredo Castañeda, Chairman
Mexican American Studies
University of California at Riverside

Patricia Heffernan-Cabrera, Director
Teacher Corps - Rural
University of Southern California

Geraldo Kaprosy, Director
Project JUNTA

K. A. Martínez
Coordinator of Special Projects
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Alonso Perales
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Rodolfo T. Ramírez, Director
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Our Lady of the Lake College

LIBERALIZING CULTURAL DEMOCRACY: QUALIFYING AND EMBELLISHING RAMIREZ'S INTERPRETATION OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Ernest M. Bernal, Jr.

Introduction

Manuel Ramírez, III has prepared an exceptional paper for this publication. His singularly significant and thematically pivotal idea is cultural democracy.

It would seem that his review of the literature generally supports the validity of this concept as well as his criticism of racism in behavioral research conducted on Mexican Americans and his innovative approach to teacher training, curriculum development, and evaluation. His fixing on cognitive style as the avenue for clarifying seemingly obscure psychological differences among ethnic groups and for gaining a new perspective on other educational phenomena, such as teacher-student interaction patterns, is very promising indeed.

But this reply stems from a protracted discussion with Ramírez and a close look at his revised paper, which, for all its educational significance, is nevertheless fraught with subtle exaggerations and non sequiturs regarding cognitive style. Being both a Chicano and a romantic, it is only grudgingly that I abandon my "suspension of disbelief." At certain key points Ramírez is temptingly credible to any educator who needs a relatively unambiguous assurance that the key to the development of efficacious curriculum has been found.

Perhaps in the discussion of these several points the reader may become involved in a professionally productive dialectic regarding one facet of a philosophy of Mexican American education.

Some Questions About Cognitive Style

Field dependence-independence is one of the best researched aspects of cognitive style. Other dimensions of cognitive style include simplicity-complexity, sharpening-leveling, and the use of space in a perceptual field. There seems to be ample evidence that ethnic groups can be reliably differentiated along the field dependence-independence continuum. To the extent that certain standardized assessment techniques or curricular materials favor one side of this scale, it may reasonably be inferred with Ramírez that they discriminate against groups which cluster at the opposite end.

The influence of several important variables (such as bilingualism, sex of subjects, and socio-economic status) on school success and tested ability becloud the effects of cognitive style, however. We need to compare the achievements of many field-dependent and -independent Chicanos and Anglos in the same study with these critical variables accounted for. Virtually all of the research cited by Ramírez, other than his own, suffers from multiple defects in experimental design. The point is that much of the research conducted on cognitive style is neither definitive nor immediately applicable to educational problems.

While it is apparently true that field dependence-independence is correlated with ethnicity or ethnic status, it does not necessarily follow that cognitive style is necessarily associated with conscious ethnic identification. I believe most readers are familiar with, for example, certain MAYO members who exhibit sufficient Chicano and field-independent traits to make my point clear. Unless learning/perceptual style and ethnic referencing/valence are specifically and very highly correlated in the results of future studies, it will continue to be incorrect to imply that teaching and learning field-independent perspectives on academic content and on the larger world, for that matter, would in and of themselves compromise a child's ethnic integrity, force him to relinquish field-dependent modes in all spheres of activity, or materially affect his interpersonal relations with members of his ethnic group.

This lack of research suggests that Ramírez's emphasis on utilizing only those teaching methodologies and curricula which complement the extant learning styles of students is premature. My conversation with Ramírez indicates that he does not wish to entertain the possibility of intervention into cognitive style and that an attempt at this cognitive modification indicates an unwillingness to accept the Chicano child and smacks of the melting-pot philosophy. However, until we know more about the development of cognitive style, its stability and unmaleability, and its relationship to subject-matter skills in more detail, intervention into cognitive style will be worthy of exploration. It may be that a kind of style switching may be possible. Different intellectual approaches may serve to enrich the intellectual life, provide the student with a wider repertoire of academic coping styles, and make possible the appreciation of cultural alternatives. My own investigation of concept learning (Bernal, 1971) indicates that Chicano eighth-grade students can perform such seemingly field-independent tasks as finding patterns in sets of numbers as well as Black and Anglo pupils do, providing that appropriate readiness experiences have been given them by a supportive adult. A transition, then, may be realizable.

But even if one postulates that cognitive style is acquired early in life, is resistant to modification and closely bound up with ethnic integrity, a refusal to intervene into the development of an alternative to the field dependence or independence of a person would render teacher training in an alternative cognitive style innocuous and may be inconsistent with the concept of cultural democracy itself. A total unwillingness to change the child in a fundamental intellectual way may contribute to the frustration of that exceptional individual--be he Anglo or Chicano--who is ethnically mobile and possessed of the "wrong" cognitive style. Under this assumption it would be too bad for the field-dependent Chicano child who, in exercising the cultural alternatives possible in a school setting such as Ramírez advocates, would opt for Anglo reference groups while his teachers slavishly continued to complement his present learning style instead of teaching him the one he needs, or at least trying to.

Either way, an interventionist stance is the result. What Ramírez should focus his justifiable wrath on, in my opinion, is not intervention but the attitudes and consequent practices implicit in the so-called deprivation hypothesis still held by many educators. This deficit model denigrates the culture and stifles the human relational styles which Ramírez recognizes must obtain in a classroom setting if mentally healthy and educationally competent children are to result. Without getting into a debate on semantics, it may be said that any planned sequence of instruction is interventionist in nature. Even the in-service training outlined by Ramírez is designed to alter habituated patterns of interaction which insensitive teachers exhibit.

Aspects of Cultural Democracy

The implications of cultural democracy for present and future generations are not sufficiently drawn out by Ramírez. In some ways it would seem that his proposal is a way of avoiding the bicultural/multicultural issue altogether by placing the choice on the student while charging the school with the open, responsive environment. The societal effects, especially across generations of Chicanos, are not discussed. What is the future of Chicanismo under this system? Will it remain a viable culture as is hoped? Will it eventually dissipate as a result of countless individual choices? Or will it be increasingly compromised with the Anglo culture by every successive generation?

Bicultural programs can select goals from a number of alternatives, among which are the following:

(1) An intermediate step in the acculturational process; ultimately a melting-pot philosophy.

(2) A return to traditional Mexican or Mexican American values.

(3) The establishment of a third culture, Chicanismo, which synthesizes aspects of both parent cultures into a modern and truly different way of living; could ultimately split the Mexican American populace.

(4) Cultural compoundedness: Anglo-like in certain settings (usually job-related), Chicano in other settings.

(5) Cultural coordinatedness: competence in both cultures in a great range of overlapping settings, certain compoundedness options possible.

(6) A legitimation of cultural diversity and pluralism, possibly several ethnic groups being integrated into each setting; crossing cultures not encouraged and strong ethnic pride instilled.

(7) Cultural openness: Every individual learns about the experiments with aspects of life of the other ethnic groups present; can select his own combination of traits and practices.

Alternatives (3) and (7) are as yet untried.

It would seem that Ramírez has attempted to combine elements of alternatives (6) and (7) in cultural democracy while excluding (1). Further, he aims primarily at changing educational institutions, not children, and perhaps this emphasis helps resolve the problem of his not formally addressing the future of the cultural groups. For if children can be allowed to learn about each other, unencumbered by damaged egos, the future will follow its own course. In one sense, one's security in his own ethnic identity frees him to explore other possibilities.

Conclusion

It is unrealistic to expect that every teacher--not to mention every educational institution from preschool to graduate school--should change to accommodate diverse cognitive and cultural styles without placing any burden for change on the incoming groups themselves. It is interpersonally maladaptive for children to grow up without having to make some cognitive as well as affective adjustment to others, though of course they should not have to make unilateral adjustments; it may be that cognitive style should also be a part of this give and take. In a general way, good mental health presupposes sufficient learning flexibility to cope with changing environments.

Children need exposure--albeit controlled exposure in a supportive ambience--to different ways of perceiving and learning so that they may find divergent ways of being and becoming in a pluralistic world.

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POLITICS AND EDUCATION

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY

JOSÉ A. CÁRDENAS

In a society such as ours, political power is necessary if changes are to be made in public institutions. Minority groups were, for a long period of our history, ignorant concerning the means of getting political power and of using it. This is now in the process of changing, and Dr. Cárdenas's paper discusses the relation between the Mexican American's newly realized political power and improvement in his education. It is a cyclic relationship, he maintains, pointing out that the better educated the Mexican American is, the more he will be able to be politically effective; and, of course, the more politically effective he is, the more he can do to better education for the Mexican American child.

POLITICS AND EDUCATION

José A. Cárdenas, Ph.D.

The Political Basis of Education

Americans tend to separate the educational system from bipartisan politics. This stems from general agreement that neither of the two major political parties in the country, nor any of the minor ones, can claim stronger acceptance or recognition of the need for education. This agreement which has somewhat removed education from partisan politics has been interpreted by many as a divorce between education and politics. For many years political activity by members of the teaching profession or the mention of politics within the classroom was frowned on as unprofessional activity.

Education is an extremely political activity. In the public school system the Board of Trustees is a publicly elected body, differing from City Councils or Legislators only in that their responsibilities in policy-making, tax levying and collecting, contracting, staffing, budgeting, and other areas of decision-making are limited to those areas immediately connected with the educational enterprise. The fact that board members campaign for election and re-election forces them to be responsive and representative of the electorate of a particular community.

Recent efforts directed at community involvement in the affairs of the school are often misinterpreted as an attempt to make the schools responsive to the wishes of the community. This concept is erroneous in that the schools, through elected boards, have always been responsive to the wishes of the dominant community. The recent movement toward community involvement is intended to make: (1) the schools more directly responsive to the wishes of the community, (2) provide involvement of segments of the community not commonly represented on school boards, (3) involve many people in progressively discrete areas of decision-making that presently rest with a relatively small school board, and (4) bridge the gap between the establishment community, which tends to dominate school boards, and the target community, which tends to dominate the classroom.

Although educators tend to stay out of politics, the reverse is seldom true: politicians fail to stay out of the schools. Even though education, like motherhood, is endorsed by all political parties, educational issues perennially crop up in politics.

A negative stand on school busing gives tremendous popular support to a reactionary political party. The success of the Republican Party in the Deep South during the 1968 presidential election can be attributed to the party's stand on school-related issues. The President's major national program today, "Stop Inflation," is interrelated with education as schools face continued operation of educational programs without necessary funds. The Presidential veto of school funds as an inflationary expenditure was felt throughout the nation. The attempt to tighten budget strings around the hot-lunch program further illustrates the relationship between national politics and education.

Political entities at all levels of government have been and are involved in the educational enterprise. Recent federal legislation has resulted in billions of dollars being appropriated each year by the federal Congress and administered by the federal executive branch for education. Lest the reader feel that federal interest and participation in education is a recent phenomenon, it is well to note that in 1785 the Congress enacted legislation providing for the support of public education. Other early acts of Congress in 1787, 1862, and 1917 indicate the federal government's concern for public education.

Since ethnic and racial minority-group members have been the preliminary recipients of recent federal involvement in education, it is desirable to clarify the role of the federal government in this area. Most educational writers are agreed that education is a local responsibility, a state function, and a federal concern. The federal government's concern over the quality of education, the loss of manpower, and the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment more than justify federal intervention and support of education. The need for manpower on a national scale at a time of national crisis has consistently led to federal efforts in education. The Morrill Act of 1862, the Vocational Education legislation of 1917, the National Defense Education Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act all came at a time when the federal government experienced dissatisfaction and concern over futile state efforts in education to provide the necessary military and technological manpower during periods of national stress.

Many educators and politicians are of the opinion that the deletion of education in the United States Constitution and the presence of the Tenth Amendment or the states' right to exercise power not specifically mentioned in that document implies a desire of the Founding Fathers to keep the federal government out of the domain of education. The fact is that the colonial support for education from philanthropic, private and church sources, excluded all levels of government from extensive involvement in education. Edwards and Richey in their history of American Education standard, The School in the American Social Order, write:

> The failure of the Constitution to mention education in express terms probably does not reflect the intention of the founding fathers to make public education a function of the state governments; it probably reflects the widespread sentiment of the time that education was a private, religious, or philanthropic function. Moreover, the authority conferred upon Congress to promote the general welfare may have appeared to many to be entirely adequate, as was actually the case, to enable the national government to support a program of education.[1]

The involvement of the state government in education needs little elaboration. Universal acceptance of education as a state

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[1] Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947) p. 240.

function has led to the state exercising almost complete control over the educational enterprise. With the exception of court cases following the Brown vs. Topeka violation of the equal rights guarantee of the federal Constitution, the states have exercised great prerogatives in the education of their children. These prerogatives have ranged from exercising the right to keep its citizens ignorant to arbitrarily decreeing the quality of education for different segments of the population. The concept of dual systems of education paid lip service to "separate but equal" but constituted separate and unequal education, with the education of minority-group children being far inferior to that of white Anglos. In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled on the unconstitutionality of "separate but equal" education facilities (Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education). While the law has been corrected, common practices have not, and minority children are still receiving the short end of the educational stick. As the federal and state courts pronounce indicting judgments on school systems and entire states for denying equality of educational opportunity, the white middle class devises new techniques in order to preserve tenaciously its privileged position in education. Gerrymandered school districts, the transfer of students, allocation of resources, matching fund requirements, college admission tests, local fund assignments, invalid intelligence tests, support of private schools, and the use of ten-year-old invalid census lists are but a few of the devices being developed and implemented to perpetuate inequality of educational opportunity. This could not be accomplished without the collaboration of the state legislature, the state executive branch, and the state department of education. They close their eyes when it is convenient that eyes be closed and drag their feet when it is convenient that feet be dragged, now and then inserting original touches of their own.

The state legislature can be counted on the come up with the necessary legislation to legitimatize educational attacks on the brash upstarts who purport to change our American way of life. Witness the following examples to get aground the question of busing--freedom of choice, preservation of the neighborhood school, cost of transportation, and the latest invention of Governor Wallace, "if busing interferes with one's health, he may avoid the bus ride and the issue." At the same time that legislatures enact bill after bill to improve the quality of education one would be hard pressed to find a single bill introduced, let alone passed, to improve equality of education.

At the local level education is no more apolitical. As has been previously stated, the school board is a political entity; but in addition to this, the schools are closely related to city and county politics. The recent Model-Cities program which purported to bring about improvements in the life of target-population residents in Model Neighborhood Areas has shown the effect of city politics on education. The City Dads' value system is dramatically portrayed as school systems vie for the HUD dollar within the common framework of bricks and mortar versus services. In this arena the spectator witnesses the attempts of the educational system to draw public support for education and a high priority for educational expenditures while competing with expressways, multiple family housing, and garbage collection. The school person can only hope for the best, much like the early Christian martyr when facing the lion in the Roman arena.

Cities and school districts are currently engaged in an unfair and one-sided battle for tax monies. The number of agencies vying for the ad valorem tax dollar has multiplied so many times that each seeks new sources of broad-based tax funds. The city has a greater facility for identifying and acquiring needed revenues from other sources. State sales-tax revenue-sharing provided an unexpected windfall for many cities, although these same cities felt that revenue sharing with the schools was unthinkable.

As the cities seek other sources of funding, the schools not only fail to participate in the sharing of additional revenues, but often become the recipients of additional financial burdens.

City purchase of public services such as gas, electricity, water, transportation, and housing have eliminated great sources of taxable wealth for the schools. Payments in lieu of taxes by municipally owned agencies are rarely made, and when they are the amount paid is frequently ridiculously low.

Service fees by cities are creating new financial hardships on the schools. Sewer-connection fees computed by acreage increase school construction and remodeling costs by thousands of dollars. City garbage-collection fees further strain an overstretched school-district budget.

Needless to say, all of the city activities mentioned above stem from a political base.

The Mexican American in Politics

Having established that education is closely related to politics, it is now desirable to look at the role of the Mexican American in the political picture.

The proposal that the Mexican American has been excluded from sharing political power could be easily advanced as the understatement of the year. Without exception, every author who writes about the Mexican American states that this ethnic minority has been politically voiceless in this country. Of more importance is the growing recognition that a minority group "*wins* (political) power rather than having it bestowed."

Y. Arturo Cabrera gives further political advice to Mexican Americans when he states:

> In order to move toward this power they (Mexican Americans) must tap their sources of strength such as concentration of ethnic voter populations, ethnic membership in the trade union movement, ethnic organizations which are stable and efficient, and coalition with political, age, ethnic, economic, and social minorities.[2]

Cabrera further states:

> One important idea yet to receive full attention is the indispensable need to focus on critical issues, which will also lead to permanent gains for Mexican Americans, rather than on exclusive ethnic-oriented protest and tactics.[3]

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[2] Y. Arturo Cabrera, *Emerging Force, The Mexican American* (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1971) p. 34.

[3] Ibid, p. 36.

Finally Cabrera admonishes that,

> . . .Legislative enactment is influenced by political muscle; in addition, they must remember that the control of political power is zealously guarded and is not given away freely.[4]

The Cyclic Relationship Between Education and Politics

An attempt to determine which came first, the chicken or the egg is no more frustrating than to ascertain a priority relationship between education and politics. Many Mexican Americans are convinced that until such time as the Mexican Americans assert themselves as a political power, the inequality of educational opportunity will not be alleviated. Another segment of the population asserts just as firmly that until the Mexican American enjoys the fruits of a better education he will continue to be politically ineffective. It is absurd to argue against either stand. The Mexican American is caught in a vicious cycle. Lack of education leads to political ineffectiveness, which in turn results in a poor education for the coming generation.

The Effects of Education on Politics

Echoes of the battles of the American Revolution were barely diminishing before the great political thinkers of the era were promoting the establishment of comprehensive systems of education. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, and many other founders of this country realized the importance of education to the success of the new political and social structure. Washington wrote about the need of government for the enlightened confidence of the people and the need of the people for education in order to remain free. Jefferson expressed his belief in the ability of people to govern themselves and warned that if people were not sufficiently educated to govern themselves properly, it was the role of government to educate them in order to meet this need, rather than use this as a reason for the denial of self-government. Jay viewed education as the soul of the republic.

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[4] Cabrera, Emerging Force, p. 36.

It is clear that these leaders, and others, viewed education as an imperative for the form of government they visualized. Yet, in the early days of the Republic large segments of the population were disenfranchised. Suffrage emerged first for the laboring classes, then for all free men, women, and finally the youth. The freedom to participate in the political enterprise appears to be a long continuum extending from the birth of the country into some time in the future when all Americans can participate in Martin Luther King's dream.

The same elements of our society which have resisted equality of educational opportunity have also resented political equality. As in education, the removal of political barriers by court action has led to the erection of new barriers in order to perpetuate the disenfranchisement. The elimination of the infamous poll tax resulted in annual voter registration. Some states instituted a voter registration system immediately after the removal of the poll tax whereby persons previously registered could renew the registration by mail, but persons never registered before had to do so in person.

Mexican Americans have faced poll taxes, literacy tests, English language tests, and restrictive registration periods as barriers to participation in elections. Legal pressures have been applied and, when everything else failed, intimidation by law enforcement agencies.

The Emerging Voice

In spite of all efforts directed against them, Mexican Americans are discovering political rights. The improved education opportunities in recent years have resulted in Mexican Americans' awareness of their civil rights. Countless civics courses have produced a new generation of young Mexican Americans with an understanding of government and the political system; new and young leadership is identifying the issues. Voter education, long missing in the Mexican American, from both major political parties, is now being supplied by the Mexican American himself. A new leadership is developing and, though it is still inexperienced, the battle scars are adding up, toughening the brown skin for the next encounter. The war will be won only if the brown realizes his new potential in politics and the educational system realizes its responsibility toward all the people. The Twenty-Sixth Amendment enfranchises 11.3 million new voters or an average of 4.5 percent of today's population. This figure increases to 8 percent in areas where the Mexican American is a dominant minority in the population since the median age of the Mexican American population is seventeen years. The potential for change can come only if this generation is politically educated. Change will not come from the new voting force alone, but from education which will crystallize the new generation into performing its proper political role.

EDITOR'S SUMMARY OF
PANEL REACTIONS

One of the first remarks of the panel reviewing Dr. Cárdenas's paper was in reference to the idea of coalition with other minority groups (see p.VII-8). The desire was expressed for developing this idea and listing the ground rules for as well as the pitfalls of coalition.

Dr. Cárdenas's paragraph on the cyclic relationship between education and politics and the paragraphs following this drew these comments: (1) schools, in addition to educating the Chicano for political effectiveness through voting, should also educate him in other methods of political effectiveness such as pressure groups, etc.; (2) schools could well be made a focal point of local political activity through their use as locales for voter registration, adult education in politics, and political meetings.

It was felt that a list of the major federal agencies in the educational system might be helpful and should be included with the paper.

The question of the traditional two-party system in the United States was brought up. We have, it was said, the habit of dismissing the idea of a third political party as being unimportant. Perhaps it would be helpful if the paper treated this briefly, explaining the advantages that could accrue from third parties and the beneficial role they could play with regard to minority groups.

Finally, a member of the panel pointed out that the Constitution, the legislative bodies, and the courts are the political elements that affect the teaching profession. Only the courts, however, are changing the political roles of teachers. It was suggested that this might be mentioned and also that the implications that the Constitution and legislative bodies have for teachers as well as the possible changes that they could effect should be examined.

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator:	David Ballesteros, Director Teacher Corps The University of Texas at Austin
Recorder:	David Almaraz Teacher Corps Intern The University of Texas at Austin
Panel Members:	Isaac Cárdenas, Executive Director Project STAY, San Antonio
	F. Chris García, Assistant Professor Department of Political Science University of New Mexico
	José Hernández, Coordinator TEDTAC The University of Texas at Austin
	Raymond G. Sánchez, Executive Director Education Group Action, T.E.A.M. San Antonio
	Roberto Vela, Jr., Director Migrant Field Services Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

A TRI-PARTITE DEVELOPMENT FOR THE CULTURAL ARTS IN THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Professor Rafael Estupinián
San Diego State College

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY

RAFAEL ESTUPINIÁN

Throughout the papers of this book and the discussions concerning them, the question of Mexican American culture and a precise description of its elements has arisen again and again. If the Chicano child is to be bicultural and have a bicultural education, the framers of the educational program must have a clear idea of what Chicano culture is. Professor Estupinián's paper considers three principal ingredients of this culture, noting that the a priori exclusion of any one of these elements or the undue emphasis on another would run the risk of diminishing the rich cultural resources of the Chicano experience. The study of Chicano Cultural considered as comprising these three elements gives promise, says Professor Estupinián, of a true self-concept for the Mexican American and, as a result, an elaboration and renaissance in the Mexican American cultural arts.

A TRI-PARTITE DEVELOPMENT FOR THE CULTURAL ARTS IN THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Professor Rafael Estupinián

¿Nacerán estrellas de oro
de tu cáliz tremulento
-norma para el pensamiento
o bujeta para el lloro?
A. Reyes

Will golden stars be born
from your quivering chalice?
Or will they be a guide for
thought or a casket for tears?
A. Reyes

In order to understand a purely Mexican American[1] art, we can only do so in the "cuadro"[2] of the Mexican American himself, that is, with an understanding of the social, political, educational and cultural entity which constitutes the Mexican American today. Conversely, we can also understand the Mexican American through his art. The Mexican American cultural arts are an evolving phenomenon if we visualize them as contiguous to the condition of the Mexican American himself. For this reason, the history of Mexican American art in its beginnings must be the history of Mexican cultural arts, and the history of the cultural arts of the indigenous people of Mexico at another moment, and perhaps even the history of Anglo American art at a given point in time and among certain culture groups. In addition, the cultural arts for the Mexican American have vacillated from a position of complete submergence, to a degree of exposure depending upon the ideological attitudes of the cosmic environment by which the Mexican American has alternately been surrounded. Because the Mexican American artist[3] is a microcosm who reflects the larger universe around him, any other appraisal would be futile.

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, the term "Mexican American" and "Chicano" are used interchangeably. In actual practice, Mexican Americans vary in their predilection to one or the other manner of referring to themselves. For most people, the terms are synonymous, although emotional allegiances do vary somewhat. No slight is intended for people preferring either term. The paper merely reflects the practice of the author, i.e. to use both terms.

[2] Framework

The artist is an interpreter of a culture and is affected by the day to day life and events of his time. (The cultural arts have a most important utilitarian and economic role, inasmuch as they are reflections of individual Mexican American experience and therefore often focus upon the social inequities as well as highlight the cultural and aesthetic beauties, achievements and milestones.) In this sense the cultural arts are never really divorced from any of the various disciplines into which we can divide human experience. Even the most introspective of "artist-observers" cannot help but reflect the larger social and physical universe. We might call this phenomenon the "micro-cosmic psychology" of the artist. That is, the artist (in much the same way that man was conceived by the Elizabethans) is a microcosm or small mirror organism of the larger universe or cosmos which surrounds him. And, as in the Ptolemaic theory of the Elizabethans, the artist reacts and often responds to these external influences about him. For this reason, the artist must always be a spokesman for his particular culture, no matter how infinitesimal his particular artistic idiom might be.

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[3] "Artist" in this sense does not mean "painter," but rather the individual engaged in productive creative activity in any of the several artistic genres.

The artist, in a sense, is the vehicle through which his environment is interpreted. In very general terms, all art is an abstraction. There is no real figurative painting for example. Even photography (as a minor art form) is an abstraction, because it can never be fully dimensional in the same way that life can be. Consequently, the artist extracts from life the elements which he feels will give the pertinent and relevant kind of abstraction which will comprise his artistic statement. The artist is a microcosm because he has within him the potential for extracting from his immediate environment all of the elements he will need. The Chicano artist differs only in that his potential for selection includes cultural elements which may not exist for the Anglo. Moreover, the Chicano has the potential for reflecting (in a more global sense) everything that is Chicano.

The artist, then, and the cultural arts as well, as they manifest themselves at any specific historical moment, reflect the dominant intellectual and ideological climate of that moment.

We can see this even in an extreme case, such as that of the Frenchman Marcel Proust, who in a psychosomatic phobia inters himself in a living tomb, the four walls of his room, to write his

"A la recherche du temps. . ."; a purely self-analytic intent, it becomes in one sense a commentary on the manners and morals of a decadent bourgeoisie. Or again, any piece selected from the prolific folio of Lope de Vega is a statement about the Baroque man. Sometimes these artistic interpretations are direct, such as in the case of Goya and the "Caprichos," which are powerfully stated social commentary; or again in Mariano Azuela's Los de Abajo, without which we could not really have understood the Mexican revolution. Any example we might care to select would illustrate the point that artists see and are attuned to the larger universe around them and cannot extricate themselves, no matter what artifice they might employ.

Social and political revolutions are naturally reflected in some sort of contiguous artistic revolution. One need only look at any specific moment in the history of Western art to be aware of this phenomenon. For example, it was only because of excessive restrictions and the peculiar morality placed upon social interaction by the Victorians that such a "protest" play as Henrik Ibsen's The Doll House signalled the beginning of contemporary literature. In the case of the Victorians, a revolt against a restricted perspective upon life led to the evolution of a new and more liberated art form. In this case, social revolution affected all the arts, and liberation was evidenced not only in literature, but in the graphic and performing arts as well.

If the principal focus of the movimiento[4] is a focus upon self-determination for the Mexican American, and if this quest is at once revolutionary and evolutionary, then it follows that the cultural arts, and the Mexican American artist as well, inasmuch as both are a reflection of our culture, should reveal themselves as having those very characteristics, that is, a revolutionary and evolutionary attitude.

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[4] Movement

Many conservative observers will immediately react to this idea. One can anticipate their objection to a point of view that would advocate or describe a purely political and social artistic movement. Furthermore, there are people who might react to any mention of revolution as something to be feared, no matter what the context. There are many kinds of revolution. As Mexican Americans, we are undergoing a very real physical revolution as well as the kind of cultural revolution which reflects social change. The idea of nurturing a cultural revolution will probably meet with objection. The objection is of course ludicrous since social and political motivation should in no way affect aesthetic value. The realization that the Mexican American cultural arts are children of their times, a reflection of the quest for self-determination, is an undeniable truth, which as Mexican Americans we must understand.

This description, then, of the Mexican American cultural arts as having been principally revolutionary brings with it an attitude of great joy and anticipation for the Mexican American. For if his artistic expressions are indeed liberated from the bondage of an artificially imposed dominant culture, then it follows that the Mexican American artist as a reflecting microcosmic entity stands on the threshold of a great renaissance, perhaps as sweeping as that of the 17th century. *Para usar el lenguaje de la gente, nada más hay que aventarse. . .*[5] Yes, the Mexican American cultural arts as a revolutionary and an evolutionary (on the way to liberation) direction indicates the very brink and essence of a renaissance. It is our responsibility as Mexican Americans to decide whether we will nurture or decapitate this flowering artistic entity. In meeting such a responsibility, there is the whole cycle of art history from which we might draw pertinent lessons.

Many Mexican American poets have, in their special and highly attuned vision, already arrived at this conclusion. One can select at random from their work to see this:

> . . .The bells of iron will testify their love
> And these flowers on the floor become testaments
> From which the saints will preach the golden
> Word and the green life-stone.[6]

The saints in this instance might be the Galarzas, the Châvezes, or the Tijerinas who have shown the way, not only for social liberation, but for artistic liberation as well.

Or again:

> I am the dark horizon
> Of old homes
> And the Quétzal
> He will someday see.[7]

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[5] To use the people's language, all we have to do is plunge right in.

[6] Rafael Jesús Gonzalez "Sestina: Santa Prisca," *El Grito*, Fall 1969, 3: 1, p. 41.

[7] Ibid.

In the prediction of the brilliant plumage of the Quétzal lies, as well, the promise of brilliant intellectual and artistic achievements.

And:

> . . .They have the streams of eloquence.
> Each to each they shape a single life;
> Obscure in origins, obscure in destination;
> While I look on content to sight
> The occasional glimmer of a pale mystery.[8]

The "occasional glimmer" for many of our predecessors has of course been the moment when they have been able to liberate themselves from the bondage of submerging their artistic consciousness within the confines of another culture and have been able to arrive at a truly syncretic expression.

In establishing a proper role for the cultural arts in the education of the Mexican American, and if we understand the REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE cycle (REVOLUTION in our self-concept; EVOLUTION of our vision of the importance of Chicano thought and intellectual activity in relationship to the rest of Western cultural currents; and a RENAISSANCE in the Mexican American cultural arts), we are presented with two possible alternatives. Either we see the Mexican American arts as a continuum emerging at the point of fusion of the various continua which our heritage comprises, or we see them as an entity unique and whole in themselves. This might be best explained by two diagrams which would illustrate the two positions:

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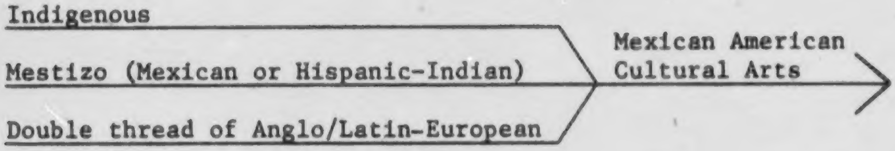
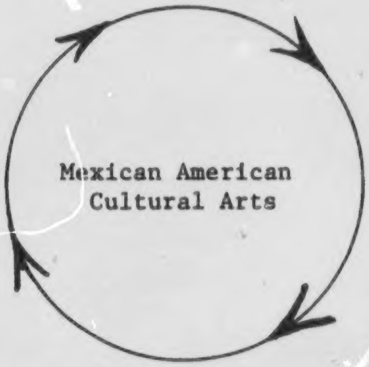
[8] Miguel Ponce, "Aaron, A Birth," El Grito, Winter 1970, 3: 2, p. 49.

ALTERNATIVE I.


Indigenous
Mestizo (Mexican or Hispanic-Indian)
Double thread of Anglo/Latin-European
Mexican American
Cultural Arts

ALTERNATIVE II.


Mexican American
Cultural Arts

The first alternative seen in the light of the cyclical nature of any art form leads us to a point of view that would establish the proper place for the Mexican American cultural arts in a continuum characterized by a tri-partite and often very diversified tradition. None of these continua which act upon the Mexican American can be seen as terminal continua; that is, even though they will fuse and become a Chicano or Mexican American culture, they will continue on, in their own cultural milieu, even after having contributed to the formation of another type of cultural evolution. In this sense, none of the continua, not even "indigenismo," are terminal. We cannot look at chronological moments in the development of a cultural continuum, but must see it instead as ongoing and not terminal.

The cultural arts by their very nature are cyclical, myriad, and evolutionary. Often in the past we have done an injustice to students in not making them cognizant of their heritage. We must see the Chicano cultural art forms or general directions as unique, but rich in diversity. We can never blindly exclude an element because it is "Anglo" or "Gachupín"[9] and therefore blot out an aspect of Chicanismo which nevertheless exists. This would be a disservice to students. There has been no opportunity for evolution in the past because individual Chicanos have been too partisan in giving their allegiance to one or another of the cultural strands. Most Chicano artists and intellectuals are in some way indebted to a European tradition as well as the Mestizo tradition, or the Indian tradition. Too heavy or artificial an emphasis on one or another aspect of our cultural entity in fact "closes the door" to the richness of resource which is an individual Chicano experience. This means, in essence, that the Mexican American cultural arts must and can only develop at the exact point of fusion of the three distinct continua, which will evolve into a renaissance, which in itself will become a continuum.

In the case of the Mexican American cultural arts, this fusion must somehow incorporate the Indian tradition, which is not a terminal artistic continuum as yet, but is instead preserved in the folk arts and some minuscule painting which appears on the best ceramics. We must include here musical idiom and oral literary tradition (by no means terminal or extinct in Mexico today); there is also what I would call the "mestizo" continuum, which is actually Mexican art or the aesthetic direction resulting in Mexico from the fusion of the indigenous and the European; and last, but just as important, is the varied and heterogeneous contribution of the European. The latter is, of course, a parallel of both Anglo and Latin, and in the Mexican American arts it exists as an often dichotomous contingency.

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[9] Originally meant a Mexican of European ancestry; but now, a synonym for Anglo.

Again, it is at the exact point of fusion of this tri-partite strand that the Chicano renaissance in the cultural arts (and in education as well) must begin.

The second alternative, that of viewing the role of the Mexican American cultural arts as an entity unique and whole in itself can lead to some rather perilous and erroneous conclusions as to the way in which we would conceive a proper role for the Mexican American cultural arts in education. In art apartheism is nonsense if we accept the "artist as a reflecting microcosm" theory. In other words, the study of a specific art manifestation (such as a painting by a Chicano artist, for example) when isolated from the political and artistic motivation which resulted in that expression is not really possible.

The Chicano artist, for example, does not miraculously arise as a purely Indian manifestation. In spite of himself, his preconscious is saturated by what he has seen (other art works, perhaps), what he has read or heard, what he has experienced (especially the multitude of Anglo and Mexican perspectives on life, which, even though he might reject them at various times, will be reflected in his artistic expression, regardless of the form it might take. Some of the greatest ills in the education of the Chicano today arise from the fact that one or another of the strands of his multiple heritage are subdued at various chronological moments. We have often been put in the position of being "will-o-the-wisps" to bend in the direction of the wind that blows most strongly. The reconciliation of our pluralistic heritage is the only way in which we will achieve intellectual growth and artistic liberation. This, of course, leads us to the point of view that all of the diversified art forms of the various cultural continua mentioned before must somehow be incorporated into our educational format. In addition to being culturally multi-dimensional, our Mexican American artistic rebirth will also be characterized by varying artistic perspectives.

Quite recently, while attending a lecture by a young Mexican painter who was in our city from his native Mexico, the statement was made during the course of his talk that his art returned to the idiom of the pre-hispanic, while remaining figurative and symbolic. As he lectured, a most beautiful painting, his own creation, hung on an easel by his side. The painting employed some very sophisticated techniques, drawn largely from a purely European tradition, i.e., composition: cubistic; coloration: a form of chiaroscuro; light: definitely "tenebrismo"[10] dating to Ribera and Zurbarán, and movement:

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[10] A technique of Spanish Baroque painting; particularly as in Ribera, where the focus of light seems to come from outside of the painting, thereby giving the illusion that one is looking into a shadowy cave. For this reason, Ribera's work has sometimes been known as "Pintura de las cuevas."

the "retorcimiento"[11] of El Greco. In short, the only thing that verified his polemic was the fact that the face of the central figure in the painting had a mestizo configuration. The painting was lovely because it reflected the essence of the artist, who I am certain was the product of all of these experiences. If, indeed, the painting had substantiated his explanation, it would probably have been no more than an esoteric and mediocre statement. Instead the painting was Mexican and furthermore was the unique statement of this individual and what he had read, heard and seen. In much the same way, individual Chicano artists, in an effort to orient themselves to what is ethnically "in," often make false statements or appraisals about themselves as creative individuals.

At some point, the Chicano or Mexican American spokesman must begin to clarify the difference which exists when we speak of artistic idiom as opposed to what we mean by artistic content. There is a difference between a cultural element and the particular idiom which an individual Mexican American might select for self-expression. We might have a statement in the area of the performing arts (a theme for a Chicano play, for example) which would utilize motifs based largely on a European tradition or perhaps on mestizo forms, even though the cultural and artistic content might be drawn from the indigenous heritage. A Chicano artist might make a statement based upon a particular cultural continuum even though the "vehicle" or "código"[12] through which he chooses to express himself may come from a completely distinct cultural continuum. This is the essence of the Chicano experience. This is a multi-cultural vision.

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[11] Twisting, writhing, contortion.

[12] A specialized set of symbols.

Many Mexican American intellectuals are beginning to react to the kind of "engaño"[13] that would tell each Chicano what his cultural role must be. The Movimiento Estudiantil[14] (our future intellectuals and professionals) has seen with acuity that even curricula in universities must reflect the needs of an evolutionary Chicanismo. One need only look at the more highly developed Mexican American studies programs in our institutions of higher learning to realize that La Raza is defining and explaining its very essence. Dormant in the Movimiento Estudiantil is a desire for purging the elements that would have us believe we are Indians, Mestizos, Spanish, or Anglos and not Chicanos or Mexican Americans with varying degrees of any of the continua predominating in individual Mexican Americans depending upon their unique and individual experience.

Perhaps because of the resultant hostility of years of domination, suppression and exploitation by first a Spanish, then an Anglo taskmaster, the proponents of a unique and "tieless" cultural entity (suggested by alternative two) have had at times a tendency to suppress or reject any cultural element that is visibly "Gavacho"[15] or "Gachupín". The suppression of these continua in the cultural arts often leads to artificial, esoteric or obviously false artistic statements. The most genuinely Mexican American or Chicano expressions are ones which can honestly present all aspects of the artistic patrimony, even if the acknowledgment of the now distasteful portions of this heritage manifest themselves only in a kind of inward criticism of self, as for example in the few "rancheras"[16] which make burlonic mockery of the "paisano agringado"[17] who lords it over his more Mexican counterpart.

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[13] Deception

[14] Student Movement, the term used to designate the Chicano movement among students.

[15] Synonym for Anglo.

When, in addition, our educational plans can include a multi-disciplinary approach, the refinement will be even greater. Because it has acquired a cognizance of this very basic tenet, Mexican contemporary criticism is of a different character than U.S. criticism. Perhaps this is because U.S. criticism seems to be based on the 19th-century vision of Lessing and his book Laocoön and the idea that the various genres of art (graphic, musical and other idioms) are not truly comparable, while Mexican and European critics will see immediately the possibility of inter-disciplinary study. There is a tendency in U.S. literary criticism of the past 20 or 30 years to reflect upon a work as an "entity." Generally, in the U.S., the use of other disciplines (psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, etc.) as avenues for arriving at statements about an aesthetic experience, is thought to be misleading and not a proper critical focus. In other words, to the U. S. scholar, an investigation such as "Mariano Azuela a la luz de la polifónica musical"[18] would be ludicrous, while to the Mexican it would be revelatory of many hidden possibilities.

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[16] A type of Mexican song sung in the Southwest.

[17] "Anglicized countryman" (with the connotation of a "sell-out")

It would seem that if we are to incorporate in our children the potential for becoming fully participating members of a Mexican American cultural rebirth, we might in this respect select the richness of artistic potential afforded by leaving traditional methods aside. In the education of the Mexican American, the possibility of affording the kinds of comparisons made through the utilization of other academic disciplines is more in keeping with our myriad heritage. This kind of "enfoque"[19] could be incorporated at all educational levels, but particularly in the areas of teacher training. Do we have teachers of literature, for example, who are Chicano in every sense, or do the products of our educational institutions know only the Anglo tradition and consequently view the Chicano literature in the framework of Anglo literary tradition? (This is ridiculous in light of the multiplicity of our literary heritage.) Multiplicity of outlook must begin at the lowest and most basic educational levels.

If we return to the first alternative, then, that of arriving at a fusion for the tri-partite continuum (and I am suggesting this as our most logical course), the implication for educating the Mexican American and for the cultural arts is immediately apparent. It is even more apparent if we have gone a step further by employing the logic of the REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE theory (REVOLUTION in our self-concept, EVOLUTION of our vision of the importance of Chicano thought and intellectual activity in relationship to the rest of Western cultural currents, and a RENAISSANCE in the Mexican American cultural arts) and have accepted the realization that we are indeed at the very brink of a possible renaissance for the Mexican American cultural arts in the education of the Mexican American as one in which all strands of the three possible continua are cultivated in such a comparative way that they will cause this fusion. The very best art produced in the "movimiento" today has unconsciously done this. The worst is so highly esoteric that it is artificially contrived and becomes a false statement about the experience of the individual artist, poet, etc.

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[18] "Mariano Azuela seen in the light of musical polyphony."

[19] Focus

In terms of individuals or more precisely the "chavalitos"[20] with whom we are entrusted, who in effect are the future artists and have the potential for realizing the cultural renaissance which is suggested and inevitable, no thread of the tri-partite continuum can be overlooked in nurturing the complete Mexican American individual. There is room in such a plan for the Chicano who writes a "non-Chicano" novel since recognition of the Anglo cultural continuum also recognizes the Chicano who is more oriented toward that particular strand. The non-Chicano voice in this sense becomes only one of many Chicano voices. If we reject aspects of Anglo tradition, we are unconsciously stifling one aspect of our Chicano cultural storehouse. The music of Sonora, for example, is unique because it has somehow interacted with the music of the American cowboy. Borrowing of Mexican forms has been done by the American cowboy; and, in turn, Mexican musical groups have borrowed Anglo instruments such as the accordion. The interaction that has taken place has enriched musical cultures on both sides of the border.

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[20] Children

A statement was once made that the Mexican American culture is perpetually moribund, that like some kind of cultural "lemmings," fragments of the arts, continually arriving from Mexico on perpetual migration, rush to be absorbed by the "sea" of a dominant Anglo culture, and that like the existence of those transitory creatures, our art forms are short-lived and never generative. If this phenomenon was true in the past, then I would further propose that one solution to the dilemma is self-determination through self-realization, or that the solution or fusion offered by a new cultural and at the same time ideological renaissance will allow the "lemmings" to soar to the heights instead of to rush to the sea. When as Mexican Americans we could say, "Ya basta!" we were saying at the same time, "Mira pues, mano, lo que de veras soy. . ."[21]

At some point in our thoughts about the cultural arts and the education of the Mexican American we must define the very meaning of the term cultural arts. What is a cultural art? An essay, for example, is certainly a literary form, although in content the essay might be political and sociological. If we base the definition of a cultural art form (a statement about Chicano culture expressed in artistic terms) upon its theme or content, where do we place many of our political and sociological orientations? Reflect upon an outlook that might even select something positive from Maoist doctrine, or a pertinent thought from the writings of Che, as well as the more traditional and acceptable continua. Perhaps this is another kind of thread, but certainly, influential political and revolutionary thought has determined aspects of the movimiento and consequently the Chicano cultural arts as well. In terms of the history of the evolution of thought and more specifically in terms of the history of the evolution of Mexican American thought (and this ultimately is the evolution of Chicano culture and the history of the spiritual entity which is the Chicano), we must say, is this history or literature?, or is this sociology or literature? and decide upon the incorporation in curricula of elements we might at first reject as not having a role in the development of the cultural arts.

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[21] "Enough! Look, brother, what I really am!"

For educators, the implications are vast and the trust especially priceless. We might begin by outlining the tasks or areas of the various three continua which might be nurtured in an attempt at arriving at the highly developed and unique flowering of culture which is expected.

In the Indian continuum, for example, the truly vibrant traditions have been largely unexplored, probably because as art forms they are often hidden. This was a practical and probably the only expedient for the Indian, since when he found himself dominated by a transplanted Hispanic culture, he had to find a surreptitious outlet for his spiritual and artistic need.

An entire unexplored dimension of minuscule painting, for example (which I referred to earlier), exists in the pottery of Tonalá. Here, in a muted and perhaps hidden way there is a whole glorious world of pre-Colombian design and figurative renditions kept alive year after year by a handful of artisan-artists. This is a sylvan pre-Hispanic world in which the artistic consciousness of the Indian is completely absorbed in the contemplation of the fauna and flora which surround him; and at the same time the designs are conceived in a spiritual essence that is precisely Indian and preserved in the stone-rubbed clay which has so admirably served him for so many other purposes.

Seen in this perspective, even the pottery from Tlaquepaque, unjustly labelled by the Mexican himself as characteristic of "la calle de los horrores,"[22] is an Indian idiom. It seems harsh and clamorous only because it utilizes a color harmonics that is different from what is purely Anglo or European. Just as the five-tone scale of eastern instruments is often rude upon the unaccustomed ear, so too the color scale utilized by the

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[22] "The street of horrors."

Tlaquepaque potters is jarring to the unaccustomed optic nerve.

All of this does not indicate that we should not avail ourselves of the more obvious indigenous artistic monuments of Mexico, such as the well-known buildings of Teotihuacán, for example; instead it is only meant to say and to suggest that a living continuum might well afford cultural resources which have been heretofore relatively unexplored.

This is true of the myriad Indian artistic art forms existing in Mexico today. For example, the literary tradition which stems from the Indian culture and which is most basic and prevalent among Mexican Americans today is largely an oral tradition and remains largely unrecorded. Its Indian strands occur in the stories of our parents and grandparents; very often they arise in the captivating lyrics of an old "ranchera." (It is amazing that the potential of this living folk literature in its Chicano manifestation does not begin to be developed.) Often we overlook the virtuosity of various performers on the guitar who can sing one "corrido"[23] after another, as a literary source. The commonplace in Chicano culture is often overlooked. Live recording of traditions both historical and artistic has been minimal in the past. Much history, literature, art, etc., is being lost because of the lack of collectors of contemporary

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[23] Originally a musical form dating from the mester de juglaría ballads, usually in rhyming couplets. In Mexico it is a typical ranchera-type ballad.

"mexicanamericana." This source alone could provide, for example, the basis for volumes of children's literature, especially since the story sources, Indians, folk heroes, etc. have been captivating generations of Mexican American children for as long as the Chicano can remember. Only recently I have learned of an effort by a "Teatro"[24] group in San Diego, California, to convert some of the more famous "corridos" into a performing act.

Many truly indigenous art forms, known universally to the Mexican American and yet remaining as underground Indian movements in Mexico are barely perceived and may soon be lost. Who would deny, for example, that an entire school of sculpture exists in the tiny nacimiento[25] figures made from humble clay? In a sense they depict almost every conceivable activity of Indian life. Look, for example, at the same phenomenon evidenced clearly in the masticated-bread sculpture prevalent in several Jalisco museums. Once again, a nurturing of an artistic and yet clearly Indian tradition might serve as the source for much creative activity to the imaginative Mexican American educator.

The suggestion arises then that in the design elements of the most humble and often utilitarian objects drawn from the indigenous culture of Mexico, things which the Mexican American brought with him in his northward migration or which may have already been there among the "mexicanos" he encountered (even before they could be called Mexican Americans), there is a dynamic cultural expression which might be nurtured carefully until it unfolds.

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[24] Theatre

[25] Nativity

The mestizo continuum offers yet another type of tradition. The teaching implications are many; and the major artistic contributions, inasmuch as they are really what might be said to constitute a uniquely "Mexican" expression, are readily seized upon as sources for the cultural arts. Since Mexico keeps alive this continuum, it is not as elusive as the often unapparent but yet living indigenous art forms. In addition, these art forms exist in a more actively developed stage, since Mexico has in a sense already achieved its cultural fusion and the reconciliation of what it is to be Mexican. When all the various currents of Dadaism, Impressionism, Surrealism, etc. acted upon the Mexican artist and he united them with his several other artistic heritages, we see the most beautiful examples of what is uniquely a Mexican cultural art. There is always the danger, however, especially since the Mexican heritage within the Mexican American consciousness is in the realm of recent experience, of substituting what is Mexican and labelling it as a Mexican American or a Chicano art form. This is not really accurate, just as it would be most artificial to pattern all U. S. art after the Shaker design of the post-colonial United States. One must remember that any of the Cultural continua do not cease to exist as merely transplanted artistic elements. They do not become properly Mexican American until they have been refined by the artistic vision of the Mexican American. Certainly, our Mexican elements will continue to be a part of us, but the simple perpetuation of them is not a significant Mexican American cultural art. These mestizo or Mexican cultural art forms have received increasing exposure in attempts at biculturally based education programs, and rightly so, but yet they are only a part of the Mexican American cultural arts. Furthermore, mestizo forms can never stand alone. For example, who can really understand Rulfo unless he also acknowledges the existence of a James Joyce? Mexican art developed contiguously with the art forms of other cultures and after many centuries of interaction with those cultures.

This leads to the final and perhaps most intricate thread which weaves in and out of and will influence a truly Mexican American cultural art form: the European continuum, which in the tri-partite diagram is shown as an interweaving "double thread" (incorporating both an Anglo and a Hispanic tradition). For when we speak about the formation of the Chicano individual, whether he be an intellectual or a child in school, the Mexican American is indebted to an "Anglo-European" cultural and historical tradition as well as to a "Hispano-Eureopean" cultural tradition. The Hispano-European cultural tradition is sometimes very divergent from the Anglo-European tradition. One need only to look at any Chicano cultural expression (painting, sculpture, literature, etc.) to realize that a specific Mexican American individual, in expressing himself through a cultural art form, may sometimes function solely in an Anglo-European tradition, while another may find his cultural milieu in a purely Hispanic idiom. Furthermore, even those Chicanos who function as a consolidation of both Anglo and Hispanic cultural patterns may vary in the degree in which they lean toward a predominance of either of the two European traditions. In a sense, the European continuum undergoes a gradual metamorphosis from Hispanic to Anglo when an individual crosses the border. Our mission as educators might be seen as an effort to present the best of both and not assimilate or "melt away" either. For this reason (the double strand), the European continuum becomes the most difficult to reconcile.

If we turn to the Chicano poets once again as precursors of a cultural revolution, we see that they seem to have a curious inability to free themselves from an Anglo-Saxon tradition. One quick glance at any of the macaronic-type verse being produced in the *movimiento*, for example, is enough to indicate to the student of literature that the conception is predominantly Anglo. That is, even if a poem is salted with innumerable variants of the Spanish or English language, *pocho*,[26] *Chicano* or whatever expression the origin of its poetic structure or form is pure E. E. Cummings, Dylan Thomas, W. H. Auden, or other poets who express themselves in the modernist tradition. That is, from a structural point of view much of the poetry being written today by Chicanos goes back to free verse, imagism, experiments with the visual appearance of a poem on a printed page, etc. The amount of influence in

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[26] A dialect of Mexican American Spanish which has many borrowings from English.

Chicano poetry coming to the culture via Latin America and Spanish language writings is relatively minimal in view of the fact that most educated Mexican Americans are products of Anglo institutions. One, of course, may raise the question as to how the transference of cultural elements is made for the Chicano. That is, do they come largely through the Anglo culture or through the Hispanic culture? The answer is that the elements arrive through both cultures but that the formal education most Mexican Americans receive is undeniably Anglo oriented at this moment in time. If one raises the question as to how influences have acted upon a specific creative work by a Chicano artist, we are confronted with the problem of determining whether or not an individual creative artist has received a specific artistic influence through a Spanish language medium or through an English language medium. Or has he received this influence, at some point in time, through exposure to another Chicano creative artist who may have used a format related to either a Hispanic or an Anglo tradition? Thus we may not really know whether a cultural influence is a direct experience or the product of the imitative process. We can say, however, that most Chicanos, in one way or another, have been exposed to an Anglo-Saxon oriented cultural content which would in turn lay stress upon the Anglo literary and artistic tradition.

This realization, of course, does not in any way detract from the poetic statement, which can be pure Chicano. The same situation exists, of course, in the short stories and essays that are being produced. Largely the form is tied to an Anglo-Saxon literary tradition. A Chicano perspective, then, often seems to be put within the framework of an Anglo literary tradition.

The European continuum is often the most difficult to outline clearly, especially in its Hispanic manifestation. The Mexican "corrido" for example, a truly "mestizo" form, certainly owes some of its origin to peninsular musical and poetic forms; but the fact that these peninsular influences were recognized in a Mexican "ambiente"[27] makes them "mestizo" in contrast to those Hispano-European traditions which might work more directly upon the Mexican American, not refined and not necessarily arriving through Mexico. We must realize that in defining any one of the cultural continua we immediately encounter the difficulty of intercalation one with another.

If we look at the history of certain kinds of reactions or certain kinds of art forms in literature or in the plastic arts, we see that a movement in artistic design, such as the Scandinavian Bauhaus, which many art historians believe led to Dadaist doctrine and pictorial symbolism, was interpreted rather differently by U.S. artists in comparison to what we might find among Latin American artists, who incorporated this in an almost purely socialistic doctrine of art, which in turn influenced much of the poetry and literature. The two continua, the Hispanic and the Anglo, seen as intellectual currents and as regards their vision of Bauhaus-Dadaist reaction in art, develop along different lines in divergent cultural milieus. When a cultural and intellectual continuum works upon the total Chicano individual it is often enigmatic to determine which one of the double threads of the European tradition (Hispanic or Anglo) has been most influential in his formation.

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[27] Environment

The "corrido" is a mestizo form because there has already been a fusion of the Hispanic elements in the Mexican milieu and because these peninsular elements are different in their Mexican evolution from what they may seem if we see them at a later moment in the continuing Hispano-European tradition.

The problem of clearly defining any of the various cultural traditions which have given us the Mexican American individual can only be resolved _theoretically_, because the moment that we begin to analyze the individual human experience we find that any of the cultural continua may be so interwoven with other influences that in a specific manifestation of the cultural arts any of these continua might be completely obscured from the view of the critic or cultural historian.

Furthermore, if the Mexican American cultural arts are Spanish language oriented, the vision or perspective is largely Latin European in conception. This is natural in view of the fact that the most Mexican of artistic statements can somehow never divorce itself from the fact that Mexican literature begins at the peak of the Spanish renaissance and that the first recognizable Spanish language poems in the New World were renaissance sonnets. Furthermore, since literature in Mexico was a transplanted European tradition until it began to absorb Indian elements, it cannot be clearly understood unless one knows the currents leading to the development of the continuum, which in the new world fused with another cultural stream. That is, if we look at the first renaissance sonnets produced by Franciscan monks, we cannot in turn overlook the influences of St. Francis as a literary personage in understanding a sonnet produced by a monk who was most certainly aware of Il Cantico del Sole or the Little Flowers and might even have read Dante. Furthermore, future generations of Mexican artists, even though living several centuries later and seeing from a more accurately mestizo perspective, could not help but be influenced by the aesthetic entity which was that first sonnet and the experiences which led that first Franciscan to produce it. (Speaking of St. Francis and Italian literature, it is interesting that a young man who was in essence the first "hippie" exemplifies perfectly our REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE cycle. Indeed, the renouncing of his worldly goods and standing naked in front of his father was like a social protest which evolved into a minor renaissance once the communal order was founded. Every student of the arts knows well the influence of Franciscan poetry upon Italian literature; after all, the verification of the poet's debt to Francis was immortalized by Dante in the Divina Comedia.)

The role then of the educator becomes one of providing a more ample educational focus for our people. It cannot be only Aztec, or just Mexican, or using Anglo artistic tradition, but must incorporate the tri-partite continuum which has been discussed in this paper. The richness of the three strands is already in our people, but if each aspect is stimulated and augmented in such a way that even a kindergarten child can feel the real "trilogy" of his heritage, the results will be a cultural armament that few nations have ever witnessed. Given time, the individual nurtured in such an environment will produce a renaissance of thought and artistic creativity never before witnessed. This will lead to an awareness for each Mexican American of the unique plurality of the Chicano. Perhaps the Aztlán[28] of our movement is in actuality a metaphysical state and the fifth sun or Quinto Sol symbolizes complete intellectual, ideological and artistic assertion.

Such a staggering and brilliant kind of intellectual and artistic liberation is a real possibility, but in achieving it we must in a sense afford the alternative to the Mexican American of selecting and improving the artistic elements (from whatever continuum) which will best aid him in arriving at this cultural "Quinto Sol" or artistic self-realization. The fact that various

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[28] The territory of the Southwest originally belonging to Mexico. In the Chicano movement, it has come to be a slogan signifying the mobility which the Chicano feels between the United States and Mexico. Hence the concept: citizen of Aztlán.

Mexican Americans and even various Mexican American communities will realize this improvement through diverse vehicles only strengthens the realization that no one continuum can serve our people. Within the clay which we offer the child to model must be all the possible ingredients which will lead to the creation of this "nueva raza,"[29] for in the clay is the potential for a humanistic Chicano attitude. The potential will come from the Mexican Americans who are actively involved with the Chicano experience, not from other sources, but from our own Mexican American insights into the cultural arts and the humanities.

Curricula for primary and secondary schools must be developed with such a concept in mind. Methodology for teaching the Mexican American (as yet primitive and undeveloped) must focus upon an effort to develop a cultural entity, in this case the child, in the fullness of all his possible dimensions. The colleges and universities have perhaps the most difficult role, in the sense that they are centers for intellectual interchange and largely because most programs at this level are relatively in their infancy.

Chicano studies as they envision the cultural arts, for example, have produced some significant results; however, long range goals have remained largely undeveloped. The best programs offer a multitude of offerings in pre-Hispanic and/or Mexican cultural art forms. It is only when we begin to think in terms of truly comparative and large scale conceptions that they will develop as great centers for a truly Mexican American art. We might say, in a sense, that most of our Mexican American higher education programs in the humanities can be found at various positions of the REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE and new continuum cycle. Those that will be generative will be the most successful. After all, even European tradition does not belong solely to the _Gavacho_ or to the _Gachupín_, but to the Mexican American as well. Undeniably, what we as a people _do_ will depend upon our cultural evolution. If we deny one aspect of our plurality, we are maiming our cultural identity and are rendered somehow less effective. Our inevitable birth as a powerful movement in the cultural arts is around the corner; it can extinguish itself as the phoenix or arrive in full plumage as the Quétzal. Octavio I. Romano-V., in the closing comments of his essay _Social Science, Objectivity and the Chicano_ has stated this most succinctly:[30]

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[29] New race

> The symbiotic relationship within the universe, that is the historical patrimony of the Chicano, revolves around a philosophical system about the nature of man and man, of man in nature, and man in the universe.[31]

If we accept Romano's premise and apply it to the microcosmic psychology of the artist as it has been described in this paper, we see that it is essential to expand not only a philosophical system but the several philosophical systems that can be derived from the various continua.

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[30] It is interesting (but natural to a nascent "movimiento") to observe the lack of artistic and literary criticism. Perhaps it is more healthy and vibrant that the production of works of art should come before any reflection about them. Most of the reflections as they apply to culture in general are being produced by Chicano sociologists and anthropologists.

[31] Octavio I. Romano-V, "Social Science, Objectivity and the Chicano," _El Grito_, Fall 1970, IV; 1.

If we reflect upon the history of Spanish art and see the type of cultural interaction that took place between Spaniards and Moors, we see a most interesting phenomenon from which we might draw a parallel and make a possible projection about the Chicano and his interaction with the Anglo: that is, the clear difference we see in peninsular artistic monuments, such as the difference between "morisco"[32] and "mozárabe"[33] art forms, the former being art forms produced by Moors working under Christian domination and the latter the products of a pure Arabic culture (dominating Christians perhaps). In Chicano art, there is a most interesting realm of speculation as to the kind of art that will be produced by the liberated Mexican American individual, free of Anglo domination and possibly a pure art form and a product of the RENAISSANCE apogee of the schemata drawn by this paper. In other words, the nature of the artistic directions that will develop when we are intellectually and artistically liberated are difficult to predict but will most certainly differ from work produced in the cultural arts at this time.

The conclusions, then, as to the role of the cultural arts in the education of the Mexican American are as follows:

1. The artist and the cultural arts as well, as they manifest themselves at any specific historical moment, reflect the dominant intellectual and ideological climate of that moment.

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[32] Moorish

[33] Mozarabic

2. In order to understand a purely Mexican American art, we can only do so in the "cuadro" of the Mexican American himself, that is with an understanding of the social, political, educational and cultural entity which constitutes the Mexican American today.
3. It is at the exact point of fusion of the tripartite strand that the Chicano renaissance in the cultural arts (and in education as well) must begin.
4. The most genuinely Mexican American or Chicano expressions are ones which can honestly present all aspects of the artistic patrimony.

The above schemata for the role of the cultural arts in the education of the Mexican American suggest some important implications. At this moment we are probably at the RENAISSANCE stage of the REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE artistic cycle, and although social and ideological (and in some cases physical) revolution may not be complete and will continue to manifest itself, it is true nevertheless that the cultural arts for the Mexican American are actively evolving and in some cases have begun to flower. The socio-historic moment is undeniably propitious. Educators must seize the opportunity to encourage and advance programs and curricula which will lead to the self-realized individual. They cannot be unidimensional programs but must avail themselves of the rich resources of the various threads of the tri-partite continua.

At all levels of the educational schemata, there should be an effort to use a line of program development that is comparative and would see the Chicano experience as the fusion of contributions from the various continua. A course in Chicano poetry at the university level, then, would necessarily look at an artistic entity, a Chicano poem, in the light of its artistic chronology as well as viewing the poem as a unique manifestation of one Chicano's experience.

An art activity at the elementary level could base itself upon indigenous Mexican design elements as well as the more traditional types of activities in the plastic arts. Teachers can begin turning to the resources available in teaching guides which come from Spanish-speaking countries, thereby making the educational institutions a little less "anglicized."

Programs which focus upon the cultural arts must of necessity be multi-dimensional as regards this tri-partite continuum concept. We can at no time close the door to any possibility for developing any of the artistic strands which make up the Mexican American consciousness. Furthermore, individuals should be able to select the elements needed for their unique artistic expression from the various continua with no pre-judgment made for them by the teacher or educational establishment. In addition, we must nourish and support the various continua of the Mexican American cultural arts in order to afford the true possibilities for intelligent and discriminate selection of what each individual will interpret as his artistic consciousness.

The minor and often hidden arts which form a part of the historical patrimony herein discussed offer possible sources of enrichment in cultural art curricula. These should be included at all educational levels with the point of view that they might serve as possible sources for a more complete artistic production. Arts and crafts at the elementary and secondary level can be drawn from the various continua. An experience in making pottery would thus include the slip-glaze technique (European) as well as the "rock-rubbed" method of finishing common in some regions of Mexico. In the Southwest, where the henequen plant grows easily, teachers can extract fibres for a weaving project with students, thereby recreating a "total experience" in the minor arts.

The cultural arts in the education of the Mexican American by their very nature imply change or *revolution* in existing educational programs, since most programs which would foster them are lacking in one dimension or another.

The framework for a tri-partite model for a philosophy in the cultural arts can remain only theoretical, of course, until individual teachers and bi-cultural project directors are offered the diverse cultural armament necessary for the proper implementation of a "fully-dimensional" Chicano cultural heritage program to replace culturally "poverty-stricken" curricula. Let us hope the day is past when a teacher who hangs a few pictures of Mexican heroes on the classroom wall and sings some traditional songs feels he has presented the Mexican American culture to his students. Self-determination through self-realization must mean the answer to the Chicanito who asks, "Who am I?" What indeed are the strands that have been weaving and interacting through the REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE process? Might they not properly form the basis of future curricula? The teacher who is *mediating* the culture, of course, might decide to focus solely upon one of the continua to the possible exclusion of the other strands. This is individual prerogative. However, larger educational frameworks must include all aspects of the Chicano experience. This implies a revamping of teacher education programs in order to afford the teacher the multi-cultural armament that he will need.

We must realize that if we look closely at the essence of what constitutes the Mexican Americans who are salient spokesmen for their culture today (through their writing or any other creative production), we must also consider the development of the history of Western thought; indeed we are ultimately led to look at the important literary and artistic landmarks which have contributed to the development of Chicano thought. Perhaps Octavio Romano is more readily recognized as an index to Chicano thought than Henrik Ibsen, but certainly Romano shows Ibsen's influences in the sense that Ibsen marks a turning point in all Western art. How do you explain the spiritual entity that is Chicano today? A Chicano intellectual can never be like the Gavacho academician. Somehow or other, his perspective will always be variant from what a purely Anglo point of view would be. Even though we acknowledge the existence of Mexican Americans, there are some teachers, artists, intellectuals, "chamaquitos"[34] in school, people from all walks of life who may have nothing of "mexicanismo" about them. Maybe the color of their skin, or "parentesco,"[35] or a Latin surname is their only tie to their Mexican origin, but they are a type of Chicano. How do we reconcile all the various kinds of differences among Chicanos in our school curricula at all levels? We afford the Mexican American all the possible alternatives that form a part of his heritage, and we include them in the educational experience so that an individual Chicano can select for himself the elements that he will need for true realization of self. We can't close doors because if we do we are stifling for a while the REVOLUTION-EVOLUTION-RENAISSANCE process. We cannot select one alternative for a specific Chicano.

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[34] Affectionate title for children.

[35] Kindred (both literally and metaphorically).

The educational publishing industry should be disposed to promote, with the counsel of well-oriented Chicano educators, the kind of texts and anthologies that draw upon the multidimensional heritage of the Mexican American. Relative to this is the responsibility of the Mexican American to engage in the kind of activity that will lead to the development of truly relevant educational materials. There is need, for example, of the kind of textbook for teaching Mexican American literature which is not simply a collection of Chicano writings (although this of course has its importance in another sense), but which would place an important Chicano literary work in the context of North American or, more globally, of Western literature.

Special attention must be paid to the educational formation of teachers who will teach in multi-cultural programs for the Mexican American. The training of future teachers as well as individuals already "in-service" must be multi-dimensional even in areas such as linguistic methodology. All of the research and the consensus of the experts in the area of bilingual/bicultural education indicates that a child learns most efficiently to read in the language of the linguistic community in which he is most functional. The non-English-speaking child then must learn to read in Spanish rather than in English (receiving at the same time a strong program of instruction in English as a second language), but only a handful of teachers are schooled in the methodology of teaching reading in Spanish. Unfortunately, teacher-training programs are Anglo-oriented to the extent that reading methods apply only to the English speaking child. The unfortunate reality is that methods for teaching reading in English often do not apply to teaching reading in the Spanish language. There is linguistic disparity alone in the very fact that the number of recognized phonemes in the two languages is entirely different. The entire pathology of Chicano children who are non-readers assumes an entirely different nature when viewed in the light of the comparative phonology of the two languages. We might say that the multi-cultural approach even invades the area of traditional pedagogical approaches. We should look with an open mind, for example, at pedagogical methods currently being used in Mexico and found to be sound.

As Mexican American educators we must be disposed to avail ourselves of the pedagogical information that exists on all of the cultural continua.

No se nos olvide que. . .
en un cantón de Aztlán
y en la lámpara consciencia
d'éste. . .
de la nueva raza
vacila la luz de un "sol".

Y mira pues. . .
como resaltan las rayas
o como sin nutrirlas
se apaga la frágil
consciencia
lámpara
luz. . .
o visiones.

Alentar, mijo!
para que se destaque
la mal nutrida lamparita
d'éste. . .
de la nueva raza.

Y si sea de Sal-si-puedes
o cualquier otro
sitio de Aztlán
que nos ciegue
con su brillantez.
Estupinián

Can we forget
that. . .
somewhere in a *barrio*
of Aztlán
and in the lamp-lit
consciousness of him
of the new *raza*
there flickers the flame
of a sun.

Look, then, how
the rays leap
or how. . .without nourishment,
fragile consciousness, lamp,
light or visions
gut themselves.

Take heart then
so that the ill fed
lamp, of him of the
new *raza*,
shines in splendor
so that, if it be from
"Sal si puedes"
or any other place in Aztlán
that it blind us
with its brilliance.
Estupinián

EDITOR'S SUMMARY OF
PANEL REACTIONS

In the panel discussion following the presentation of Professor Estupinián's paper, the question of the term "cultural arts" and its appropriateness was brought up. Isn't this, it was asked, what usually goes by the name "fine arts"? One of the panelists clarified this by stating that "cultural arts" deal with that part of the human being which shows itself, the extension of one's will through intellectual development which expresses itself in the cultural arts.

It was observed that since the term "fine arts" usually does not include literature, which must figure in the above description, the term "cultural arts" would be more appropriate here.

A large part of the discussion was devoted to the practical aspects of Professor Estupinián's paper as regards the education of Chicano children and the teacher training for this. The point was stressed that the Chicano child, if he is to have a bicultural education, must be exposed to the cultural arts that reflect his own background. Educational programs must draw upon this rich background with all the elements that it comprises so that the self-realization of the Chicano child will be a true and complete one.

The need for and importance of teacher training in this area was stressed. It was pointed out that in several regions of the country attempts at in-service teacher training are being undertaken at present and that they will point out to teachers the background of the Chicano cultural arts. Methodology, too, was discussed, especially the possibility of using pedagogical methods from other countries (such as Mexico) in appropriate areas of the Chicano child's curriculum.

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator: Manuel V. Montaño, Director
Teacher Corps
University of the Pacific at Stockton

Recorder: Enrique Medrano
Teacher Corps Intern
Texas Southern University

Panel Members: Margaret M. Aragón, Director
Follow Through Program
Las Vegas City Schools

Antonio Ochoa, Chairman
Mexican American Studies
Cal State - Hayward

Philip D. Ortego, Executive Director
Chicano Affairs Program
The University of Texas at El Paso

Frank Piño, Jr., Assistant Professor
Department of Romance Languages
Michigan State University

Tomás Rivera, Professor
Romance Languages and Literatures
The University of Texas at San Antonio

Frank A. Salazar
Music Instructor
Ventura College

José R. Villarino, Assistant Professor
Chairman, Chicano Studies Department
San Diego State College

THE ETHNOCENTRIC RESPONSE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION TO THE CHICANO: IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Tomás Arciniega, Ph.D.

University of Texas at El Paso

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY

TOMÁS ARCINIEGA

The search for a new philosophy of education for the Mexican American implies a reform in educational institutions. Dr. Arciniega's paper addresses itself to administrators of these institutions, analyzing the views that schools can take concerning the Mexican American and the special problems that his presence poses to an Anglo-oriented school system. Each of the various views naturally elicits a different response, and Dr. Arciniega examines systematically each view-response, pointing out what has historically been prevalent in the schools and recommending alternatives. He also, at the end of the paper, makes specific recommendations to schools and school systems for implementing what he considers the best of the alternatives which he has sketched.

Instead of an editor's summary of the panel discussion on Dr. Arciniega's paper, we include Dr. Arciniega's own summary together with an appendix which he supplied concerning the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District.

THE ETHNOCENTRIC RESPONSE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION TO THE CHICANO: IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Tomás A. Arciniega, Ph.D.

Today the "less than equal opportunity for all" state of society is an openly acknowledged fact of life in this country. Coupled with the all too well publicized picture of the good middle-class life, this has alienated our citizenry along economic, racial, and sub-cultural lines. No urban city exists any more which does not find itself seriously fragmented into various relatively homogeneous subdivisions which attend different schools, participate in and have available different recreational activities and who in general live in isolation from each other.

These facts of U. S. existence apply equally to the urban condition in the North, South, East, as well as the Southwest and Far West. If present conditions are allowed to continue I am convinced that this country will move in thirty years to an apartheid situation where inner cities will be completely controlled by a low-economic non-white populace surrounded by a primarily white middle-class suburbia. The differences between rich and poor, between white and non-white, will then constitute a legitimately institutionalized societal polarization completely contrary to the goals of a constitutional democracy. When this occurs the U. S. will have completed the evolution from an open to a closed society.

This then is the difficult macro-social context of problems faced by public-school administrators today as more and more are finding themselves being directly confronted by once-passive now-turned-militant poor communities even as they seek desperately to respond to urban-minority demands. Most would readily confess that nothing seems to work very well as regards public educational efforts to stem a growing wave of disorders originating from an accelerating politicization of the urban poor.

In the case of the Mexican American, urbanization and recent rapid rural-to-urban shifts in population have produced a modern situation where fully ninety percent of all Mexican Americans are now city dwellers. Most are economically disadvantaged, but gone is the day when to speak of the Mexican American minority was to describe a rural, traditional, folk-culturally oriented people. Chicanismo is now the angry call to rally of the urban brown population which is erupting across the nation in violence and disorders. Increasingly large portions of Chicano communities are challenging this country's basic institutions at every turn. Public education stands at the top (or close to it) on all lists of institutions to be changed as these angry young people demand redress and genuine equality. Significant coalitions of ghetto and university youth are forming fast around a common disenchantment with present society.

Few of us would quarrel with the assertion that the socio-economic context of society influences very directly the school-organizational conditions which dictate in turn the possibilities and limits for achieving the educational goals set for that system's schools. Yet, unbelievably, most practicing school administrators insist on continuing to speak to and act upon educational goals, objectives, and proposed innovations conceived in narrow terms isolated from reality. They insist on perceiving the activities of the school as being primarily centered and confined to:

1. Cognitive or intellectual development of students,
2. Psychomotor and/or basic skills development in mathematics, languages, writing, etc.,
3. The transmission of major culture norms and ideals and,
4. Providing athletic and other types of entertainment for the community.

Few face up to crucial issues such as:

1. The role of education in promulgating racism and unequal opportunities for minority groups,
2. The role educational systems should play in actively seeking solutions to pressing social problems,
3. How to develop meaningful programs with specified objectives designed to promote personal and social well-being in our troubled youth,
4. The role of education as an agent for social mobility.

It is obvious that the organizational problems of changing school systems to meet more adequately the needs of bicultural minority students is tied directly to the failure of school administrators to tackle these crucial issues. However let me emphasize early that the "problem" is not simply the school administrators of today. (I wish it were that simple.) It is much more complex, for educational systems reflect quite accurately the socio-economic power context of majority- vis-a-vis minority-group relations. Thus the problem of changing for the better what schools are doing to and doing with bicultural youngsters is one aspect of the more encompassing problem faced by the black, brown, and red minorities of this country; mainly how to change through social actions key interrelated dimensions or practices in the total national, regional, and community systems. In short the task of analyzing the response public education is making to bicultural students is difficult to separate from the more global response that the community as a whole makes to the problems of providing authentic access to the mainstream of American life for minority-group members.

Keeping the complexity of the task in mind, it is possible now to examine the response which school organizations are making to minority-group needs. We can begin by examining the central issue of system tractiveness as opposed to system change.

Organizations in transacting with their environment are characterized by resistance to change. Educational organizations are no exception. However, all organizations, in response to pressures of various kinds (internal and external) must ultimately either alter goals and change means-end structure consistent with higher-order goal changes or perish.[1]

In responding to pressures for change, organizations can and often do respond to new expectations by resistance and hold-the-line strategies against radical new alterations in present goals. This is the system-tractive response.

Organizations can choose, however, to alter present goals, to incorporate additional goals, or to substitute goals. This is a system-change response.

The traditional tractive response is characterized by increased efforts to socialize and influence incumbents (school personnel) in ways that cause them to drop new goal orientations and to accept and be satisfied with present ones. This is accomplished through various measures: outright coercion, a system of extrinsic incentives, status-promotion allocations, increased emphasis on adherence to existing rules and regulations, co-option, and other such measures. In addition to the efforts aimed at incumbents, the tractive response is characterized also by increased efforts to socialize "properly" the clients (students) of the system. Students must be socialized "properly" or they too can force organizational goal changes. Incumbents and clients then are key and receive the brunt of tractive response efforts to maintain the present goal system. The organization concentrates on persuading them that changes are not good for the organization nor good for them![2]

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[1] T. A. Arciniega, "Public Education's Response to the Mexican American Student," Innovative Resources, Inc., 1971.

[2] Ibid.

To date the educational system's response to the demands for change in approach (goals-end) to educating bicultural minority-group youngsters has been mainly tractive. Public education traditionally has never really decided to educate equally and properly all students. The system has employed various mechanisms and devices to encourage drop-outs or to push out certain ethnic, social and economic categories of clients. From the schools' standpoint the Mexican American qualified on all three counts.

The public-school system's response to external pressures stemming from the interactive factors of federal-government legislation and funding, the consequent rise in minority-group expectations, and the more global national occupational structural changes has been to see in the new pressures the same old problem. Public education is seeking to solve the bicultural-minority problem by expanding upon and doing better what it has done in the past, doing what hasn't worked before! Zealously dedicated effort is being devoted to: (1) training incumbents to implement old strategies better, (2) marshalling more of the same dreary kinds of resources utilized in the past, (3) increasing the system's reliance upon safely experienced specialists, (4) increasing the organization's effort to socialize properly the clients of the systems, and (5) focusing attention on the enforcement of existing organizational norms, rules, and regulations. The organizational attitude conveyed in these efforts is to change as little as is absolutely necessary in order to maintain the organizational status quo.[3]

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[3] Ibid.

CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES IN THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS[4]

Since educational programs are necessarily based upon some form of assessment of need for what the school has to offer, the various educational approaches to the education of Mexican Americans can be conceptualized along two basic continua. The first involves the stand taken by the school toward the cultural background of the student. Mexican American and subcultural group affiliation can be viewed as chiefly eufunctional or largely dysfunctional in relation to the educational goals set for most students by the school. Or as stated more simply in Fig. 1 the school can look positively or negatively at the consequences or effects of Mexican American group membership on student achievement and performance. Secondly, school approaches can be classified in relation to views held regarding the causes of Mexican American life styles; thus, in addition to viewing subcultural life either positively or negatively, educators view the causes of student performance as being primarily internal or external.

The internal-factors viewpoint emphasizes factors indigenous to minority-group life and culture. Culture is viewed as persistent

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[4] Adapted from R. R. Brischetto's Typology for Classifying Social Scientists' Perspectives on Blacks and Chicanos. See Brischetto's "Social Scientist Views of Minority Group Life Styles," (Presentation, Dallas: Southwestern Social Science Association Conference, March 1971). The interested reader is referred also to Tom Carter's adaptation of Brischetto's scheme: "The Persistence of a Perspective," unpublished, 1971.

FIG. I

CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES TO THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN ACCORDING TO CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MEXICAN AMERICAN STUDENT BACKGROUND[5]

Consequences of Mexican American Group Membership and Life Style are Chiefly:

Causes of Mexican American Life Styles are chiefly:

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
INTERNAL	View: Mexican American group membership viewed as "Noble Poor." Cultural life styles are to be promoted, enhanced and glorified. Mexican American cultural allegiance group furnishes direction toward a satisfying life. Goals: Promotion, enhancement, glorification of Mexican American cultural traditions, folkways, norms, and social practices. Educ. Approach: Separatist strategies designed to secure control of the education of the Mexican American. Only Mexican Americans can shape valid educational programs for Mexican Americans. Educational programs will emphasize the Spanish language, cultural awareness, and the historical tradition of the Mexican American. Example: Corky Gonzalez School for Chicanos, Colegio Jacinto Treviño in San Antonio, Denver; Free School in various cities such as El Paso (Jones), Berkeley; schools are organized to replace the need for public schools.	View: Mexican American group membership viewed as "pathological." Cultural life styles constitute the source of the student's problems in school. Deficiencies are perpetuated along generational lines via the cultural allegiance group. Goals: Elimination of the cultural deficiencies brought by the Mexican American student. Inculcation of middle-class values of the majority culture is the principal aim of education for all Mexican Americans in order to succeed. Educ. Approach: Compensatory-education programs designed to overcome cultural deprivation. Cultural background is viewed as handicap. Example: The majority of public school programs aimed at the Mexican American target population are based on the compensatory model. Even most bilingual-education/English-as-a-2nd-language programs are designed to "bridge" the child's background only to enable him to "overcome" it so that he can become proficient in English more efficiently.
EXTERNAL	View: Mexican American group membership and participation viewed as functional adaptations to external constraints which makes "copers" of Mexican Americans. Life styles are functionally adaptive results of the majority-minority power game imposed by the larger society. Goals: Assist the Mexican American to cope more effectively. Educ. Approach: Educational programs must concentrate on: (1) providing students with authentic basic knowledge, educational skills, career training, counseling as well as political skills about the institutional system he is faced with, and (2) promoting consonant institutional changes which are necessary in order to improve the general opportunity structure for Mexican Americans in the larger society. Biculturalism should be promoted for all, not just for the "culturally different." Example: Bicultural educational programs which promote equal-status approaches for both cultures. Edgewood School District in San Antonio comes the closest.	View: Mexican American group membership and participation viewed as a negative result of internal colonialistic conditions imposed on the "oppressed" Mexican American. Present Mexican American cultural life styles are only pallid reflections of once strong and virile society which has been broken and forced to change. Goals: Complete restructuring of the educational system as it presently exists is the only real solution to the educational problems faced by the Mexican American. Educ. Approach: Since the present educational structure is considered an integral part of the total societal system responsible for the oppression of the Mexican American, takeover and control of the present system is a necessary first step. Once accomplished, only then can the building of school programs designed to liberate and free the people truly take place. Example: None in effect but numerous proposals can be found in the militant literature of the Brown Berets, MAYO, Black Berets, etc.

[5] As noted in the references, my classification scheme is adapted from R. Brischetto's, "Typology of Social Scientists Views of Minority Life Styles." Unpublished paper, March 1971.

and self perpetuating with cultural patterns being transmitted within the group from one generation to the next.[6]

The external-factors viewpoint emphasizes the social and economic circumstances imposed on Mexican Americans by virtue of their group's comparatively lower "status" and "class" situation in U. S. society.

> Minority-group members as a group occupy a subordinate class position vis-a-vis the dominant group. Likewise, they are stigmatized by the larger society because of certain ascribed characteristics, such as racial or ethnic origin, and thus may be said in a broad sense to share a common caste position.[7]

By juxtaposing the external-internal continuum with the positive-negative one, a four-fold classification scheme for analyzing educational approaches in the education of the Mexican American is obtained (see Figure 1). I believe that this classification scheme provides a useful (albeit oversimplified) conceptual tool for analyzing school-organizational responses to the Mexican American student clientele.

The significance of the classificatory scheme is in the implications for educational approaches that each view holds. To view Mexican American students as "pathological" or "culturally deprived" is to peer down one philosophical valley, while to view that same student as "noble poor" is to be looking down a completely different one.

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[6] R. A. Brischetto, "Social Scientists' Views of Minority Group Life Styles," (Presentation, Dallas: Southwestern Social Science Conference, 1971).

[7] Ibid.

The following briefly highlights the four basic educational approaches. The purpose of the typology and the descriptions of the various approaches is to stimulate serious discussion and thought regarding conceptual alternatives. No claim is made that this framework provides any kind of "last word" in programmatic alternatives. On the contrary the following should not be taken for more than an oversimplified attempt to frame the various combinations and perspectives which can be usefully considered in shaping educational programs for Mexican Americans. It should be obvious, too, that viable alternatives might include an eclectic or mixed approach by borrowing from various of the approaches.

CELL 1: The Mexican American Student Viewed As Noble Poor Approach

Those who ascribe to this view contend that, contrary to current "culturally disadvantaged" writings about minority groups, Mexican Americans in fact have a superior culture. They stress that Mexican American folk traditions, norms and history must be enhanced and promoted. It is argued that only Mexican Americans can teach their own effectively. Therefore separatist strategies are proposed in order to set up dual systems to promote the cultural heritage of "la raza." The "separate but equal" doctrine is acceptable to the proponents of this view if it carries Chicano control of Chicano education assurances with it. Likewise the "community" or "neighborhood school" approach is also acceptable if control is in the hands of Mexican Americans. Obviously, segregated schools would be encouraged by advocates of this approach.

This romantic view of the Mexican American has its philosophical roots in cultural-anthropologic, folklorist, as well as the modern wave of cultural-nationalistic writings. Mexican-descent writers especially have pushed hard toward a positive view of Mexican American group life. This is the major theme of the unifying ideology of the Chicano movement.[8] Various Chicano authors writing in this vein have contrasted the "negative" aspects of the majority culture with the "positive" cultural values of Chicano family and general value orientations.[9]

CELL 2: The Mexican American Viewed As Pathological Approach

According to this perspective the Mexican American group affiliation and resultant life style are "pathological" in that they handicap the student's achievement in school. Mexican Americans are viewed as members of a distinct subcultural group, who, as a result of that affiliation, perpetuate handicapping deficiencies along generational lines. The easy conclusion follows then that, since the roots of the problem are primarily to be found within the group, Mexican American students are viewed as "culturally deficient" or "culturally disadvantaged."

The task of the school then, viewed from this perspective, is to eliminate the cultural deficiencies. Put more kindly, it is the school's job to help the student overcome his handicap in order to enable him to become a "good American." Inculcation, in this disadvantaged group, of proper middle-class majority-culture values becomes the overriding concern of public education.

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[8] Eliu Carranza, Pensamientos en Los Chicanos: A Cultural Revolution, (Berkeley: Berkeley California Book Co., Ltd., 1969).

[9] See for example Nathan Murillo, "The Mexican American Family," (Presentation, Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Chicano Conference, 1970).

Nowhere is the "pathological" view held by educators more apparent than in the "school-community relations" educational literature dealing with the Mexican American family. The supposed authoritarian structure of the family is said to stifle independence. All aspects of the Mexican American family are viewed as negative socialization:

> The kind of socialization the Mexican American children receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society. This type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility--family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present--and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it--achievement, independence, and deferred gratification.[10]

The overused, tragically misinterpreted concept of machismo also appears time and again to justify conflicting explanations of Mexican American student behaviors.[11] All of these concepts (and I am attempting only to highlight, not be exhaustive) are well packaged in the extensive "value dichotomies" literature.

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[10] Celia Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, (New York: Random House, 1966).

[11] Miguel Montiel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family," El Grito, 3 (Summer), 1970, 3, pp. 40-47.

Zintz,[12] Saunders,[13] Madsen,[14] Edmonson,[15] and Ulibarrí[16] represent well the view that it is the traditional value system of the Mexican American which is the chief impediment to academic achievement. The Mexican American is handicapped because supposedly his value system is oriented toward: (1) present rather than future gratification, (2) fatalism rather than disposal to change, (3) personalism rather than independence, and so on. Vaca, in his excellent review of the social science literature on the Mexican American, calls this view the cultural-determinism approach.[17] He insightfully points out that cultural determinism replaced the earlier biological-determinism model. Thus poor performance on intelligence tests and poor achievement in school no longer needed to be explained in terms of genetic inferiority, which became unfashionable, but rather (using a similar conceptual framework) could now be explained in cultural-deficiency terms.[18]

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[12] Miles Zintz, Education Across Cultures (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Book Co., 1963).

[13] Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish Speaking People of the Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).

[14] William Madsen, The Mexican Americans of South Texas (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).

[15] Monro Edmonson, Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional Values (Tulane: Middle American Research Institute, 1957).

[16] Zintz, Education, Horacio Ulibarrí quoted in Zintz.

[17] Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican American in the Social Sciences: Part 1: 1912-1935 and Part 2: 1936-1970" in El Grito, Summer, Fall 1970, 3, 4.

[18] Ibid.

Similarly "culture of poverty" writers have characterized the Mexican American in dichotomous terms relative to the Anglo culture.[19] Although some of the works in this area cut across ethnic boundaries the net effect remains a dichotomy of two types of value orientations with the Mexican one being "bad" and the Anglo one being "good." Changes thus must be wrought in Mexican American students in the direction of the "good." The dysfunctional effects of minority-group background can be overcome only by acculturation into the Anglo "good" life style

Compensatory education programs become important vehicles for effecting these required changes in the students. The majority of federal public-school educational programs are based on a compensatory model. This includes most TESL and bilingual-education programs. The idea in these programs is to use the child's home language to get him away from it and into the "right" language more efficiently.

CELL 3: Educating Mexican Americans To Be More Effective Copers Approach

This view holds that Mexican American group membership and life styles are functional adaptations to primarily external constraints. Mexican American life patterns are seen as "coper" type responses to conditions imposed by majority- vis-a-vis minority-group conditions. The focus is shifted from internal cultural or biological factors to external factors.

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[19] Edward J. Casavantes, "A New Look at the Attributes of the Mexican American," (Albuquerque, New Mexico: SWCEL, 1969).

Culture according to this approach is viewed as dynamic and adaptive. It can be functional or dysfunctional relative to the goals of the greater society in particular cases. As a proponent of this position I have pointed out that Mexican American life styles can be viewed as functional adaptations to the opportunity structure of the total societal system and that they are directly attributable to minority status.[20] Regardless of which specific adaptive mechanism is employed by Mexican Americans to cope with a given situation, explanations for lack of success as a group, for example, can be explained primarily by analyzing the factors inherent in the greater societal system. Thus positive changes in the greater society should be reflected in positive changes in the adaptive structure of the minority culture. Mexican American culture is viewed as inherently capable of developing more positive adaptations to fit more open conditions as the situation evolves.

Public education under this approach must assist the Mexican American to cope more effectively. Educational programs must concentrate on: (1) providing students with authentic basic intellectual knowledge, career guidance and training, along with the necessary human and conceptual skills about the institutional structure of society and (2) promoting directly essential changes in the institutional structure of the larger society in order to improve and secure opportunities and more equitable participation by Mexican Americans in the society.

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[20] T. A. Arciniega, The Urban Mexican American: A Socio-Cultural Profile, (Las Cruces, New Mexico: ERIC Press, 1971).

Bicultural education programs which give equal status to Anglo and Mexican American culture and language are ways not only of reaching "better" the Mexican American kids but benefit equally the Anglo children involved. This approach, in addition to elevating Mexican American cultural contributions, promotes change efforts designed to effect attitudinal, normative, as well as cognitive changes in the dominant culture. The central focus is that cultural differences need to be accepted genuinely and that we need to practice authentically the notion that to be culturally different is not to be inferior. On the contrary, cultural differences should be considered a valuable human resource. In this approach, education necessarily cannot be ethnocentric and must emphasize that the learning of new behaviors is not inconsistent with the maintenance of desired norms and life patterns found in the minority culture.

The task of educational administrators thus becomes primarily to fashion school environments which will enable Mexican American students to develop positive self images. In the process of acquiring the skills and knowledge mentioned above, these students will be enabled to take on and give up elements of culture in non-defensive ways. They will be encouraged, nay, obligated to preserve cultural patterns not only for their own benefit but for the benefit of the total society. For as Aragón[21] states, only in contributing to both cultures is the goal of biculturalism truly achieved, and Mexican American culture must be preserved if it is to contribute.

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[21] John A. Aragón, "An Impediment to Cultural Pluralism: Culturally Deficient Educators Attempting to Teach Culturally Different Children," (Presentation, University of New Mexico, Cultural Awareness Center, 1971).

CELL 4: The Mexican American Viewed As Oppressed Approach

This view argues that Mexican American group membership and the resultant life styles are negative results of internal colonialistic conditions imposed by the majority culture. Present Mexican American cultural life patterns are considered degenerated reflections of a once virile and strong society which literally underwent subjugation.

The only viable solution to the situation of the Mexican American according to this view is a complete restructuring. The goal thus is to do away with what presently exists and to build anew. Since present public educational systems are considered integral parts of the total societal structure responsible for the oppression of the Mexican American, the public school system must be controlled and taken over. This is a necessary first step before viable alternatives can be developed to the oppressed state of the Mexican American.

Because the societal structure is viewed as having literally "broken" the cultural backbone of the Mexican Americans, the hope is that once the present structure is tumbled a new society can be built. The new society would liberate the Mexican American culturally as well as economically.

Although none of the proponents of this view have developed educational programs in any great detail, most do share a reluctance to settle for a formal type of educational system. Some alternatives are advanced to formal educational institutions ranging from completely computer-individual learning approaches to complete tele-learning based on purely interest strategies. However, the emphasis is primarily on what they don't want rather than upon presentation of concrete alternatives.

Moore[22] and Blauner[23] perhaps best exemplify analytically this point of view. Blauner first applied the "colonizer" and "colonized" conceptual scheme to the Blacks. Moore applied this colonial scheme to the case of the Mexican American. The social-oppression process common to both consists of four phases: (1) colonizer forces his way in, (2) colonizer constrains, transforms, and destroys indigenous values and way of life, (3) colonizer manages and manipulates the colonized, and (4) the majority group enforces power in a "racist" fashion. And, as Brischetto[24] has noted, contemporary social disturbances and urban disorders are responses to this colonization process.

THE PRESENT PUBLIC SCHOOL RESPONSE

With the conceptual framework in mind, we can return now to an analysis of public education's response to the Mexican American.

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[22] Joan W. Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican Americans," Social Problems (Spring 1970), 17:463-472.

[23] Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt," Social Problems (Spring 1969), 16:393-408.

[24] Brischetto, op. cit.

I am convinced that present public-school efforts reflect basically a "pathological" or "cultural deficiency" approach which is based on the false premise that the problem lies primarily *within* the Mexican American's culture. Solutions, consequently, are sought in the most effective ways and means to make over that cultural group in the image of the greater society. Whether one calls what needs changing their "Mexicanness," their "value orientations" or, what is more in vogue today, their "cultural disadvantage," the intent is clear: *in order to accept the Mexican American, society dictates that the youngster must first be "de-Mexicanized."* Public schools in their role as principal socializing agents of their communities have responded with alacrity in educational form and practice toward that end.

As stated initially, cause-and-effect relationships for the present response are embedded in the socio-economic context of society. Principally involved are power relations between the dominant and the minority groups. Of central concern are two traditional ethnocentric responses utilized by the dominant group toward the Mexican American sub-cultural group: discrimination and prejudice.

Discrimination can be illustrated in various practices: employment, ethnic quotas, restrictive housing covenants, and outright segregation. Prejudice is of course involved in discriminatory practices. Prejudice is the more covert expression which deals with values, attitudes, and general negativism. Stereotyping is a common example of prejudice. Together these form the ethnocentric expression of loyalty to the in-group by deprecating the out-group, the Mexican American in the case at hand.

Coupled to these interactive conditions has been the systematic insistence by society to verbalize what can best be labeled "equality for all" goals. ". . .every American has a right to develop his potentialities without interference of class privilege or social partiality for. . .the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. . .to the American Dream."[25] At best these ideals have been only partly implemented.

Throughout history each of the three main goal systems, which influenced U. S. society, have reinforced that tradition. Whether the system was being guided by Anglo-conformity, melting-pot, or cultural-pluralistic theory the dominant culture has been guilty consistently of employing a double standard toward the Mexican American.[26] Melting-pot values are perhaps the best Southwestern example. Although never truly implemented, the melting-pot rhetoric has been espoused and verbalized throughout the Southwest. On the one hand, society stresses the values of equality and success-for-all regardless of race, color, or creed through hard work, perseverence, and rugged individualism; and on the other hand it uses its socio-economic power rules to dictate that it cannot be. Therein is the crux of the Mexican American's dilemma.

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[25] R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People: Minorities in American Culture, (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1949) p. 7.

[26] Henry G. Burger, "Ethno-Pedagogy: A Manual in Cultural Sensitivity," (Albuquerque, N.M.: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., 1968) pp. 81-85.

A few relevant statistics can underscore the magnitude of the problems and perhaps emphasize the inappropriateness of the traditional response. The median number of grades completed in El Paso for Mexican Americans is 6.6, compared to almost 13 years for Anglo Americans. Thirty-six percent of all Mexican Americans are functional illiterates. The median annual income for Mexican Americans is less than two thousand dollars. Fewer than eight percent enter or complete college. Few Mexican Americans belong to the upper class, and 4.8 percent, compared to 16 percent of Anglos, can be classified as professionals.[27] These facts of socio-economic life are used to reinforce ethnocentric responses. The dominant culture sees in the actual stratification scheme the "proof" that justifies its behavior toward the Mexican American and which leads in turn to a societal strait-jacket of ceilings placed upon Mexican American accessibility to the mainstreams.

Southwestern public education has refused systematically to accept the different sub-cultures within its boundaries as an acceptable reality and cultural pluralism as a valid goal system for society. There has been outright rejection of the right to preserve significant portions of the minority cultural and communal life. This power context has had devastating impact upon the education of Mexican Americans.

In short the basic school-administration issues revolve around the organizational adaptive mechanisms presently being employed by school systems to maintain the status quo. As pointed out previously, schools are geared to respond primarily to middle-class client needs. Schools are more responsive to clients presenting one set of characteristics than to those possessing a different set, for schools have certain goals and practices to which they are committed; and, bluntly stated, the presence of "different" clients hampers the orderly achievement of principal goals. To cope with that situation, schools employ various mechanisms within the global-tractive response to adjust to difficult clientele.

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[27] Arciniega, Urban Mexican American.

Goal displacement has been a common adaptive mechanism utilized by schools. This is the process whereby the original goals of a school are displaced partially or completely and the means (rules, regulations, procedures, etc.) become more important. Means are elevated to the status of goals. For example, in dealing with Mexican American youngsters, especially in the schools located in lower-class zones, the school tends to replace the education-for-learning goals with education-for-discipline and good-behavior goals. Meaningful education thus becomes a valid goal only for middle- and upper-class students, apparently because the schools assume that upper-class students know how to behave properly but that Mexican American students must be taught and disciplined to learn proper standards of good behavior. Education for deportment becomes the overriding concern, and thus schools become custodial institutions.

When teachers, counselors, or administrators counsel with parents of lower-class Mexican American youngsters, the emphasis is on discipline problems. When they counsel with parents of upper- and middle-class students, the emphasis is on pupil progress in the school program.

Related to goal displacement is the mechanism of "tracking." Most educators know well this practice of channeling or dumping students into rigid programs or tracks. Inevitably in mixed (Anglo and Mexican American) schools the majority of Mexican American youngsters get tracked into non-college vocational preparation programs. In the all Mexican American and Black schools the school program becomes primarily vocational-preparatory. Administrators justify these practices with IQ and other similar test scores and completely ignore applicable research which points out that IQ tests for Mexican Americans are totally inaccurate for measuring intellectual potential. They are, however, accurate indicators of "Anglo-ness," so a purpose is served.

Other related practices of this tracking and dumping include: (1) technical-vocational schools which serve almost entirely minority-group students, (2) school zone gerrymandering practices, (3) co-curricular activity programs for the academically talented which are participated in primarily by Anglo middle- and upper-class students. Another dumping example which deserves special elaboration involves Special Education practices. Special Education classes in the Southwest, almost without exception, are comprised of Mexican American and Black student population.

Rarely do white parents consent to having their children put into Special Education classes. White parents realize only too well the stigma attached to the Special Education label. Mexican American and other minority-group parents do not, so they consent.[28]

Special Education students are selected primarily on the basis of IQ and other similar instrument test scores which, as we have pointed out, are known to be inaccurate guides for determining either the intellectual potential or the academic achievement of Mexican American youngsters. In fact, specifically in Special Education, research is indicating that most Mexican Americans placed in Special Education classes do not belong there and are normal learners.[29]

In addition to goal displacement and tracking, the school employs an adaptive mechanism which I have labeled the Spanish Language Ability and Accent Coefficient (SLAAC). The school uses this SLAAC rating in various subtle ways to measure the student's acceptability and level of academic gain. This is almost always done subtly and extra-officially. It is primarily an attitudinal response to the student. Upon a student's SLAAC rating will depend school approval to participate in any number of central activities and organizations. His SLAAC rating also has great influence upon what the school will expect from him. It appears that school expectations for a Mexican American student rise in inverse relation to his SLAAC rating as perceived by the school.[30]

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[28] Progress Report, Mexican American Study Project, Graduate School of Business Administration, The University of California at Los Angeles, January, 1965.

[29] A. R. Jensen, "Learning Abilities in Mexican American and Anglo American Children," California Journal of Educational Research, (September 1961), 12:147-159.

Closely related to the SLAAC mechanism is preferential treatment. There are substantial data which indicate that schools do not treat all students alike and that schools engage in preferential treatment of some students involving matters such as discipline cases, withdrawal procedures, absenteeism, punishment, curricular offerings, and grades. The treatment that most lower-class Mexican American youngsters receive in these important aspects of school life indicates pointedly that they are less "preferred" by the schools than are their Anglo middle- and upper-class counterparts. Cases in point are well known by most practicing educators who have large Mexican American student populations.[31]

These examples of the responses used by the schools are not meant to be exhaustive. They are cited merely to illustrate the concept of the school/organizational adaptive mechanisms. Taken together, these adaptive mechanisms make up what I have labeled the traditional tractive response. The tractive response is employed by the school/organization to respond to environmental conditions and external pressures. Through these mechanisms the schools are able to sort and sieve students. They enable the school to remove the disruptively different by tracking and conditioning so the school can continue to devote its efforts principally to educating those for whom it is best geared. Thus the achievement of the goals to which the school is primarily committed is facilitated and insured.[32]

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Arciniega, Urban Mexican American.

SUMMARY AND THE HUMANISTIC ALTERNATIVE

The difficult macro-social context described above and the explosive nature of present urban conditions point out that public education is undergoing a most serious crisis period. Two basic action directions or choices lie before public education. As educators we can:

1. Continue to assume an increasingly defensive posture to define what we have been doing and to put down non-conformers; or,
2. Assume a more humanistic response and search out every measure at our disposal to improve educational conditions for the Mexican American.

In the past, school administrators have all too often assumed a posture of defensiveness in which existing structures were "shored up" against reformers. We have tended to remain too true to our traditional label of conservators and have refused to push sufficiently hard to assume genuine positions of leadership. That stance is costing us dearly.

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[32] Arciniega, Urban Mexican American.

I am convinced that to continue with the first alternative will lead to chaos. Thus the only truly viable alternative is the humanistic one. However, to rise to the challenge involved in opting for the humanistic response will require real commitment.

In short, educational administrators will have to break with tradition and abandon conservative attitudes. We will have to become actively involved in literally building a new social order. Schools must be shaped to reflect more what "ought to be" and less "what has been or is."

We do not have time here to treat in depth the specifics of the change components that should derive from the foregoing analysis. I do wish however to close by tracing the more salient features and fundamental changes that must occur in the public schools in order to respond effectively to the demands and needs of the culturally different:

1. School systems must accept and energetically demonstrate in educational form and practice an authentic commitment to a pluralistic model of society. It has been the strict adherence to the myth of a melting-pot value system and the rhetoric of "equal opportunities" which has been primarily responsible for the failure of public education to meet the needs of Mexican Americans in this country.

2. The school must be organized as a microcosm of the "ideal" society we want to build. A commitment to these first two points means that the schools and school administrators would view diversity as a source of strength and would organize accordingly. Thus the focus of change begins necessarily with the school organization.

3. In addition to emphasizing teacher-student and family-student influences in shaping instructional programs, schools must give emphatic attention to

those processes related to the interaction between students. This will require a re-evaluation of the school's position in order to legitimize student-to-student and inter-cultural group interactions as well as other types of peer-centered learning activities as accepted parts of the curriculum.

4. The school must recognize that both low-economic-status youngsters as well as higher-income youngsters will benefit from integrated schools and other inter-ethnic related experiences and that only by insuring genuine interface communication across class, racial and ethnic lines can this country hope to work out of the present crisis. Schools must reject the false notion that homogeneous grouping, compensatory programs which segregate students, tracking for any reasons and ability groupings on any level provide valid educational solutions. There are no valid data to justify these practices. On the contrary there are plenty of data which show little if any significant gain in cognitive achievement, and present race-relations tensions attest to the affective damage being wrought.

5. School systems need to incorporate what the Mexican American community has to offer in planned learning experiences for all youngsters. Schools must be encouraged to reorganize to reflect this emphasis. In the education of minority youngsters special attention must be given to moving away from the present overpreoccupation and focus which requires Mexican American youngsters to view the education process as primarily a "please the Anglo or Anglicized teacher" game. Educational goals and instructional objectives can be made relevant only by incorporating aspects of "Mexican Americanness," measured on that group's terms, into the school experience. This can be accomplished only by careful research of the Mexican American community. If schools are to get away from the compensatory approach of schooling for indoctrination, they must begin genuinely to care about Mexican Americans and recognize that their culture has essential contributions to make. They will then realize that they can build upon the cultural components and allegiance groups which all Mexican American students bring to school.

6. Lastly, school systems must involve themselves intimately in city, state, and federal agency joint plans to fashion "total systems" approaches for the improvement of the opportunity structure of this society for Mexican Americans in general.

None of these proposed changes will be easy to bring about. Tough resistance can be expected from many quarters; nonetheless that is the nature of the humanistic challenge.

In closing let me emphasize a last point. It should be remembered that the *process* for accomplishing redirective change is equally as important as the *product* of the change effort. Joint involvement of school, community, and Mexican American leaders is important both from the standpoint of the expertise all can provide and because only this type of approach will create the required receptivity and commitment--*entre los nuestros tanto como en la sociedad entera.*[33]

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[33] Among ourselves as well as in the whole society.

PANEL REACTIONS SUMMARIZED

BY DR. T. ARCINIEGA

The following summarizes the reactions made by panel members to the paper I presented at the conference held in Austin, Texas, November 3-5, 1971. I wish to express sincere appreciation for the constructively critical contributions made by the group. Group dialogue and discussion clarified many of the issues presented in the original paper. After two days of lengthy interaction and analysis the group concluded that: (1) the paper was acceptable with additional commentary to be added at certain points and (2) the implications of the author's recommendations needed to be discussed in greater detail. The basic position paper presented with the requested additional commentary constitutes part one above. What follows below addresses the second point and attempts to capture the essence of the interactions. I wish to note that although I personally would have preferred for the sake of objectivity that some other member of the panel assume the responsibility for this section, the panel insisted on charging me with that task.

Implications of the Author's Recommendations for Practicing Administrators

The comments which follow attempt to summarize panel dialogue and deal with the standard questions posed by educational practitioners: "What are the implications of what you are saying to the problems I am having in Crystal City? What about grouping? What about recruitment of 'relevant' teachers? To what extent should the community be involved? And how?" etc. etc.

Let me begin by referring to the recommendations presented in part one above. As indicated, I believe strongly that public educators need to assume a more humanistic response in educating the culturally different in this country and that public schools must move away from a compensatory approach in the education of Mexican Americans. The thrust of that reform effort needs to aim at building schools to reflect what "should be" and less what "is" in U. S. society.

It is imperative therefore that public education shift its focus away from the prevailing point of view which insists that the chief impediments to success for the Mexican American stem from the negative influences of his home, family, and culture--i.e. fatalistic attitudes, family ties, lack of competitiveness, present-time oriented, etc. I have insisted that the roots of the problem are not primarily culturally linked. They are not primarily to be found within the Mexican American cultural group but rather are to be found in the ethnocentric response of the total society toward the Mexican American. Thus I have urged school administrators to refocus toward a more honest and complete self-examination of their schools and the effect on Mexican American students of, say, the prevailing teacher and administrator attitudes toward lower-class Mexican American parents as compared to their attitude and treatment of middle- and upper-class white parents. I have pointed to the need to delve in a critical way into school climates, organizational mechanisms, preferential treatment in disciplining Mexican American students, the negativeness of the guidance sub-system, the teacher reward-incentive structures, etc. These and other areas need to be critically examined in relation to how they reinforce the ethnocentric response of public education toward the Mexican American.

Keeping these summary points in mind we can turn now to the specific areas of practical concern identified by the panel: Ability grouping and tracking, staffing, guidance and counseling, the co-curricular program, and parent-community involvement.

Ability Grouping and Tracking

Any pattern of school organization which segregates Mexican Americans for the greater part of the curricular day is contrary to the recommendations outlined above and should be discouraged. Most grouping and tracking of students is based on the simplistic assumption that the child's level of academic achievement is determined almost wholly by the quality of the instruction. The supposition is that only the interactions between teacher and student are important. This is just simply not true. The Coleman study and others have indicated to us that there are two additional processes that are at least equally as important if not more so: (1) the interaction among students and (2) the interaction between parent and student. These are crucial points especially in the context of majority-minority group relations.

Curriculum Design and Staffing Patterns

In these areas I believe the San Felipe Del Rio Texas School consolidation effort is a landmark case. As I indicated to the panel, I believe that the curriculum and staff-development plan developed for that city, which integrates predominately Anglo and predominately Mexican American school systems, provides the basic ingredients of the bicultural approach we are seeking.

The San Felipe Del Rio educational plan which was submitted to Judge William Justice (U. S. District Court Eastern District of Texas) insures equal educational opportunities beyond mere physical integration. The courts finally in this case have addressed themselves to the total school program and the safeguards needed. This plan is attached as Appendix A. As relates to curriculum design, I refer the reader to pages IX-40-48. The staffing plan appears on pages IX-49-52. The San Felipe Del Rio educational plan was developed by Mexican American educational leaders pulled from various parts of the country by the Office of Education for that purpose.

The Guidance and Counseling Program

I am not going to attempt to cite the numerous inadequacies cited by the panel about typical guidance and counseling practices in the public schools. Let it suffice to say that all agreed that Mexican Americans were not being counseled properly and that preference is usually given in public schools to the "college-prep" students. In most instances this means that Mexican Americans were virtually excluded. The basic criticisms were:

1. Overemphasis on college-prep students.
2. Culturally insensitive counselors.
3. Counselors overly preoccupied with I.Q. and achievement testing.
4. Counselors channelling Mexican Americans into vocational trades and Armed Services.
5. Counselors not interested in relating to Mexican American parents and community.

The general recommendations for improving this aspect of the school's program revolved around the need to recruit more Mexican Americans into the counseling profession. It was felt that with more Mexican American counselors many of the chronic problems could be eliminated quite easily. A word of qualification: In addition to simply recruiting Mexican Americans, safeguards must be taken to insure that, once recruited, they are able to exercise their "Mexican Americanness." We need to insure that the school is structured to reward that change in emphasis. I would add also that the emphasis should be on recruiting counselors who are culturally aware and who can relate to the Mexican American community, not just Mexican Americans per se. We all can identify the Anglo Americans who can and do relate well to Mexican American students. We can also point to Mexican Americans who do not.

The Co-Curricular Program

In order to assure equal educational opportunities careful attention must be given to developing co-curricular activities which promote the cultural backgrounds and experiences of all students. Special precautions are needed to insure that prerequisites for participation in club and social activities do not discriminate against lower-income and culturally different students. The co-curriculum program should reflect the "ideal society" concept that we are trying to promote. This, of all programs in the school, should promote cultural pluralism, integration, and positive attitude toward all students regardless of economic, ethnic, or social-class status.

Parent and Community Involvement

The active participation and involvement of parents and other members of the Mexican American community is essential. The school cannot meet the needs of its clientele unless it is recognized as an integral part of the community it purports to serve. Parents and the community as a whole need to be viewed by the school as bona-fide partners with important contributions to make to the task of educating the children of that community. Teachers and administrators must be encouraged to view the community as a living laboratory rich in human and material resources which can be tapped to make the school's program more meaningful. I am convinced that especially in this area it is primarily an "attitude" problem with our school staff. Our schools have rarely viewed lower-income Mexican American parents in a positive light.

Summary

Obviously the above does not answer completely the basic "implications" questions cited at the outset. However, I would hope that you agree with me that the panel's effort does provide important food for thought and critical self-examination of the educational responses we are making to our Mexican American students. And hopefully, too, some of us may even be motivated by this and other similar efforts to begin promoting active changes to the status-quo. . ."para el beneficio de nuestra sociedad entera."[1]

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator: Lawrence T. Gómez, Director
Teacher Corps
Adams State College

Recorder: E. Omar Bustamante
Teacher Corps Intern
University of Houston

Panel Members: Tony García, Director
Migrant Education
Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

Ángel N. González
Superintendent of Schools
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Simón González
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Department of Educational Administration
New Mexico State University

Rudolph Salmerón, Jr.
Instructor of Education
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

Thomasine Taylor, Assistant Professor
College of Education
University of Houston

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[1] For the good of our whole society.

Elba Iris Tuttle
Far West Laboratories
Berkeley

Mauricio Muñoz, Jr.
Community Coordinator
Teacher Corps
Salinas, California

APPENDIX A

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
TYLER DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	
	)	
V.	)	CIVIL ACTION NO. 5281
	)	
STATE OF TEXAS, ET AL.	)	

A COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATIONAL PLAN FOR THE SAN FELIPE DEL RIO CONSOLIDATED INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

I. On August 13, 1971, this Court entered an order pursuant to United States v. Texas, 321 F.Supp. 1043 (E.D. Tex. 1971), requiring the development and submission to the Court of a comprehensive educational plan containing sufficient educational safeguards to insure that all students in the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District will be offered equal educational opportunities. By order of the Court, these "safeguards" were to "include but . . . not necessarily be limited to bilingual and bicultural programs, faculty recruitment and training and curriculum design and content."

Subsequently, the School Board of San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, complaining particularly of that portion of this court's order relating to bilingual and bicultural educational programs, and also contesting the venue of this civil action. A motion for stay of this court's order was denied by this court and by the Court of Appeals. Thereafter, the appellant school board and the Department of Justice informed the Court of Appeals that the matter in controversy had been "settled," and that such parties had agreed upon a new comprehensive plan. Such parties jointly moved the court to remand this civil action to the trial court, with directions that the trial court adopt the plan agreed upon by the School Board and the Department of Justice. On November 3, 1971, the Court of Appeals remanded this cause to this court "for further proceedings."

At the hearing before this court on November 26, 1971, it was revealed that none of the members of the school board of the former San Felipe Independent School District had been notified of or had participated in the negotiations between the school board of the newly consolidated district and the Department of Justice, although four members of the former San Felipe Board were made members of the interim board of the newly consolidated school district by order of this court previously entered. Likewise, none of the attorneys representing the Amici Curiae were notified of or participated in these negotiations. The evidence adduced at the most recent hearing in this court also revealed that efforts to obtain federal funds to implement the Comprehensive Educational Plan, provided for in this court's order of August 13, 1971, have been extremely tentative, desultory and ineffective.

Considering the acknowledged sophistication in this field of litigation of the appellant school board's present attorneys, considering the professional qualifications and expertise of the school administration, particularly the superintendent, and also considering the undisguised hostility of the members of the interim board who were members of the board of the former Del Rio Independent School District to this court's plan relating to bilingual and bicultural educational program, the court is of the opinion that the school district has made no sincere or good faith effort to obtain federal funding of the Comprehensive Educational Plan ordered by this court.

Also, it should be noted that, although this court was led to believe that practically unlimited federal resources for the implementation of this plan were available in the form of discretionary funds available to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and that the Secretary vigorously supported such a plan, only a modicum of the funds required has been advanced by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to this date. In this connection, it is further noted that the Department of Justice has apparently made no effort whatever to assist the school district in the obtaining of such funds, although this court adopted the plan urged by the Department of Justice.

It is obvious that the plan adopted by this court cannot be implemented unless a sincere and good faith effort is made jointly by the school board and the Department of Justice to obtain such funds and unless the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare sees fit to grant them. This court feels very strongly that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Justice should not urge the adoption of a plan upon this court, giving assurance of practically unlimited funds to implement it, and then, through neglect, inaction or misdirection, effectively frustrate its implementation.

Giving consideration to the evidence adduced at the hearing on November 26, 1971, the Court has adopted the following Comprehensive Educational Plan for the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District, which contains the following elements:

a. Professional Staff Treatment and Assignment
b. Curriculum Design and Content and Instructional Methodology
c. Student Assignment and Classroom Organization
d. Staff Development
e. Parent and Community Involvement
f. Special Education
g. Non-Instructional Support
h. Funding and Timing
i. Evaluation of Comprehensive Plan

This plan is ordered to be effectuated in the belief that it can be implemented by the District, if adequately supported by Federal grants.

II. PROFESSIONAL STAFF TREATMENT AND ASSIGNMENT

The consolidated school district shall adhere to the following basic principles in the treatment and assignment of staff:

(a) All valid contracts currently existing between the former San Felipe Independent School District and professional staff employed by that district, and between the former Del Rio Independent School District and professional staff of that district, be honored in their entirety by the consolidated district.

(b) All professional staff of both the former San Felipe Independent School District and the Del Rio Independent School District who had been granted tenure prior to consolidation are to be considered as tenured in the new consolidated district.

(c) Any demotions in position, salary, or responsibility of any members of the professional staff of the new consolidated district shall occur in accordance with the orders of the Court in this case.

(d) Principals of schools in the two previously existing districts will serve in the same administrative positions in the new consolidated district; however, assignment to specific schools should be made in a manner which insures geographic dispersal, so that members of one ethnic group will not be concentrated in any geographic area.

(e) The District will undertake vigorous recruitment and staff development effort toward a long-range goal that the ethnic composition of the administrative staff approximate the ethnic composition of the school district community.

(f) The administrative staff, faculty and other staff who work directly with children in the new consolidated district should be assigned so that the ethnic ratio of teachers and staff who work with children in each school is substantially the same as the ethnic ratio of teachers and staff who work with the children in the district as a whole.

III. CURRICULUM DESIGN AND CONTENT AND INSTRUCTIONAL METHODOLOGY

In order to ensure safeguards against the educational exclusion of any educationally or economically deprived child enrolled in the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent

School District, it is necessary that this comprehensive plan for the new consolidated district recognize the responsibility of the educational agency to provide an individualized instructional program which is compatible with their cultural and learning characteristics. The following plan for curriculum design provides for such safeguards, while recognizing the cultural and linguistic pluralism of the student body and providing equal opportunity for reinforcement and expansion of that pluralism to provide for the characteristics of the child's immediate environment and the characteristics of the larger environment in which he shall function in the future. The plan is based on three principles:

- that the cultural and linguistic pluralism of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District student body necessitates the utilization of instructional approaches (in addition to those now used) which reflect the learning styles, background and behavior of all segments of the student community: modification of curriculum design, and the development of new instructional skills and materials are part of the development of pluralistic instructional approaches.

- that the educational program of the district should incorporate, affirmatively recognize and value the cultural environment and language background of all of its children so that the development of positive self-concepts in all children of the district can proceed apace, toward both the immediate and ultimate goals of these children functioning effectively in a pluralistic society.

- that language programs be implemented that introduce and develop language skills in a secondary language (English for many Mexican American students, Spanish for Anglo students), while at the same time, reinforcing and developing language skills in the primary language, so that neither English nor Spanish is presented as a more valued language, even though it will be called to the attention of the students that English is the basic language of the United States.

A. Early Childhood Education Program

The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District will implement an early childhood program for 3-4-and 5-year old economically disadvantaged children which will focus on the development of basic cognitive skills as well as the development of bilingual (Spanish and English) capabilities in children. Such a program will be implemented as soon as practicable.

All children will be included in the future development of the program. Implementation of the program shall be programmed for rapid, yet educationally sound, development. Some of the initial activities to be conducted include: staff selection and development: formulation of a design for parental involvement: establishment of program objectives and meeting non-instructional needs. Previously developed early childhood education programs will be examined to aid in the development of a program designed to meet the needs of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District children. The program will reflect compatibility with the child's cultural and linguistic characteristics. Such a program shall:

(a) provide instruction in the language system of the child as one or more additional language systems are developed:

(b) provide for teaching methodology compatible with the child's learning style, including his: (1) preferred mode of communication, (2) preferred mode of relating, and (3) motivational style:

(c) provide for the systematic development of basic cognitive, affective, psychomotor skills, including:

(1) problem solving, (2) auditory discrimination, (3) sensory-motor, (4) language development, and (5) perceptual skills:

(d) provide for a process-oriented curriculum:

(e) provide for the development of self-direction and choice making skills:

(f) provide for the reinforcement of the child's cultural heritage and ethnic identity and for an understanding and appreciation of that of others:

(g) provide for small group and individualized instruction:

(h) provide for the utilization of community personnel reflective of the student population in terms of ethnicity, economic status, and area of residence in para-professional roles:

(i) provide for meeting the non-instructional needs of the children including health, nutritional, and family services assistance:

(j) provide for comprehensive parental involvement at both the planning, implementation, and evaluation level of the program as well as at the instructional level as parent volunteers fully engaged in the learning-teaching process.

B. Grades K-4

The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District shall implement a K-4 program that presents to all children a bilingual-bicultural instructional program which utilizes the child's language system (English, Spanish, or a blend of both) as the medium of instruction as proficiency in one or more additional language systems is developed. This shall be accomplished by the implementation of at least the following:

- grouping of instructional units to include not more than 60 students (including migrants) to be served by: two bilingual-bicultural teachers or one bilingual-bicultural teacher and one mono-bicultural teacher: two bilingual community para-professionals and one or more volunteer parents:

- team teaching and small group methodologies such as those which presently characterize the open classroom concept will be utilized:
- development of curriculum materials and methodologies to reflect a culturally pluralistic instructional approach:
- evaluation and subsequent modification of all instructional materials for the removal of all stereotyping historical misrepresentations and other negative cultural presentations:
- implementation of both English as a second language and Spanish as a second language components as part of the instructional program:
- implementation of individualized and small group instructional activities for meeting specific learning needs of individual children or groups of children:
- utilization of bilingual-bicultural staff specialists in diagnostic roles for the development of prescriptive teaching:
- initiation of comprehensive staff development activities responsive to the implementation of these strategies:

These strategies must be implemented within the context of heterogenous classroom composition which includes the absorption of migrant children and handicapped children as members of all classroom populations with the exception of severly handicapped children who cannot function in the regular classroom.

C. Grades 5-6

In grades 5 and 6 the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District shall implement a two-phased development plan which will enable all students enrolled in the 5th and 6th grade in September of 1972 to be full participants in the bilingual-bicultural instructional program which accepts the child's preferred mode of communication (i.e., language system) as the language of instruction while one or more additional language systems are developed. This shall be accomplished by the implementation of at least the following:

In 1971-72:

- Assignment of bilingual-bicultural resource teachers at a ratio of one teacher to three hundred students to serve fifth and sixth grade classrooms:
- Initiation of English as a second language strategies on a prescriptive basis for students diagnosed to need additional English language development:
- Initiation of Spanish as a second language program for all children: initiation of prescriptive Spanish as a second language instruction for children diagnosed as deficient in Spanish language development:
- Implementation of individualized, individually prescribed and small group instruction:
- Development of culturally relevant, fair and reinforcing instructional materials in social studies:
- Evaluation and subsequent modification of all instructional materials for the elimination of all stereotyping, historical misrepresentations and other negative cultural presentations:
- Assignment of bilingual-bicultural staff specialists in diagnostic roles for the development of prescriptive teaching:

In 1972-73:

- Initiation of a bilingual-bicultural instructional program which accepts the child's preferred mode of communication (i.e., language system) as the language of instruction while one or more additional language systems are developed:

- Development or adaptation of instructional materials to ensure reinforcement of both the language and the various cultures represented in the student body:

- Continuation of English as a second language and Spanish as a second language instruction on a prescriptive basis to serve children diagnosed as deficient in either language.

D. Grades 7-8

The two-phase program implemented in grades 5 and 6 shall be implemented within the identical time sequence in grades 7 and 8. Additionally, the district shall:

- Implement a comprehensive counseling program using bilingual-bicultural personnel aimed at decreasing the drop-out rate and increasing both the availability of academic options for students preparing to enter high school and their receptivity to such options:

- Implementation of inter-cultural awareness and understanding program utilizing group guidance and other appropriate strategies.

E. Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12

The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District shall implement, as soon as practicable and prior to the 1972-73 school year, a program which includes: (1) the immediate implementation of instructional and non-instructional activities which respond to the pluralistic characteristics of the student population, provide sequence and continuity to the instructional activities conducted at the two previous high schools, and respond to the motivational styles and socio-economic and cultural backgrounds: and (2) the development of an instructional program including course offerings, instructional materials, and methodologies which respond to and capitalize on the needs and capabilities of students who have been involved in bilingual-bicultural education. This shall be accomplished by implementation of at least the following:

- Assignment of bilingual-bicultural diagnostic staff specialists among testing and evaluation personnel:
- Assignment of bilingual-bicultural personnel in the guidance and counseling program of the school:
- Assignment of one bilingual-bicultural teacher to implement English as a second language instruction on a prescriptive basis:
- Development of an intensive program to identify scholarships and financial assistance for disadvantaged and all other students, with priority to be given to disadvantaged students, assist disadvantaged and all other students in enrolling in college, with priority to be given to disadvantaged students:
- Modification and expansion of literature and social studies curriculum to reflect pluralistic characteristics of the student population: provide cultural reinforcement, and historical, anthropological and sociological accuracy:
- Modification and expansion of home economics curriculum to respond to the life styles, family structures and needs of children in all cultures represented in the student body:
- Assignment of bilingual-bicultural personnel to coordinate development and implementation of literature, social studies and home economics programs:
- Initiation of ethnic studies courses:
- Evaluation of vocational education and home economics programs in terms of (1) relevance of offerings to current community needs and projected needs and (2) the maintenance of student-centered decision making as to options within and without vocational education:
- Implementation of an inter-cultural awareness and understanding program utilizing group guidance and other appropriate strategies:
- Assignment of bilingual-bicultural High School Curriculum Development Director whose duty shall be

to develop an instructional program, including course offerings, instructional materials and methodologies which respond to and capitalize on the needs and capabilities of students.

F. Summer Enrichment Programs

The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District shall develop programs beyond the regular instructional programs which effectively continue to extend the services extended to children in the districts prior to consolidation. Summer pre-school and elementary programs, neighborhood youth corps programs and other enrichment programs would be offered. The new school district shall continue the practice of providing summer job opportunities for disadvantaged college students in the summer programs.

IV. STUDENT ASSIGNMENT AND CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION

The combined migrant student projections for the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District indicate that approximately 1,100 students qualify as migrants. This represents approximately 15% of the total school population.

Special educational needs of migrant students will necessitate the instructional grouping of such students for a portion of the regular school day. Such groupings, however, will not exceed one hour of the regular school day. Migrant students will be assigned to regular heterogeneous classrooms and provision for classroom spaces (to be reserved for migrant students) shall be made at the beginning of the academic year, in order that migrant students be assured of placement in regular classrooms.

Student assignment to courses which require or utilize pre-enrollment or pre-registration procedures will be made on a first-come, first serve basis. Students from the two consolidating districts will be allowed to enroll in any courses having as prerequisites courses not offered in the school they previously attended or not required as part of the basic academic program the student was pursuing in the previously attended school, upon recommendation of the principal of the school which the student previously attended.

V. STAFF DEVELOPMENT

A. Basic Assumptions

1. Discriminatory practices and prejudice have no place in either the education of children or the selection and training of staff:
2. The fruition of any curriculum design is contingent upon maintaining the most competent available personnel:
3. For an adequate program of bilingual-bicultural education to function, bilingual-bicultural personnel reflective of the various ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the student body must be employed:
4. The needed competencies and understanding requisite to a desirable educational program for all children can be developed through careful staff selection and effective in-service training.

B. Staff Development Plan

The following staff development is designed to provide equal access to the full benefits of the District's educational program for all children in the District.

1. The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated School District will develop and implement a comprehensive staff

development plan which will increase the capabilities of the District's staff (administrative, instructional, counseling, and para-professional) to respond to the needs of minority group students and all other students.

2. The District should submit this plan to a court appointed Multi-Ethnic Advisory Committee for review, comment and suggestions no later than thirty days from the appointment of such committee. The approved plan should be ready for initiation within sixty days from the date the School Board receives the report of the Multi-Ethnic Advisory Committee.

3. The Staff Development Plan will include as a minimum the following components:

   (a) Direct involvement of community representatives of all ethnic groups on an equal basis in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

   (b) Involvement of school personnel from all levels on an equal basis in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

   (c) Appointment, within thirty days of approval of the Staff Development Plan, of a full-time Staff Development Plan Coordinator. The Multi-Ethnic Advisory Committee should be consulted on recommendations for the Coordinator and should work with the Superintendent in developing the job description for the position.

   (d) Immediate initiation of systematic and intensive efforts to recruit minority group staff at the professional, para-professional and non-professional level.

   (e) Immediate development of a management plan to implement the staff development plan and to ensure continued involvement by all segments of the community in all phases.

   (f) Initiation of a Special Career Development Program. This program will provide and support the identification, multiple-level entry and placement of Mexican American and other minority group members into all levels of the school system (i.e., administrative, supervisory, pupil personnel services, guidance and counseling, teaching and other supportive staff).

To insure effective implementation of this component, the Multi-Ethnic Advisory Committee shall designate a three-person sub-committee from its membership to monitor this aspect of the Plan. The Special Career Development Program will include as a minimum:

(1) Specific selective criteria which reflect the need in this system for competent bilingual-bicultural supervisory, administrative and teaching personnel who are sensitive to the needs of all children.

(2) A time schedule designed to bring systemwide minority employment to an equitable level at the administrative, supervisory and teaching levels.

(3) A plan for disseminating information on specific selection criteria to all levels of the system and the community, in accordance with the orders of the court.

(4) Provisions to ensure upward mobility of minority group personnel into supervisory and administrative positions at all levels based on individual demonstrated and potential ability and District needs.

(g) Initiation of a systemwide staff training program developed through joint staff and community effort which will include at least the following components:

(1) Cultural awareness training that will include School Board members, key community leaders, administrative staff, teaching personnel, counseling and guidance personnel and parents.

(2) Curriculum development to meet the needs of all children.

(3) Pupil diagnosis, prescriptive teaching and behavior modification strategies.

(4) Bilingual, oral language assessment and ESL training.

(5) Team teaching and differentiated staffing.

(6) Tests and measurements techniques for measuring bicultural student performance.

Such a staff training program shall be implemented with technical assistance support provided by resources both external and internal to the District. All of the above training activities shall be initiated during the 1971-72 school year.

(h) The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District and representatives from appropriate teacher training institutions will execute plans leading to training activities which will assist participants where appropriate in obtaining credit toward certification.

VI. PARENT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

An essential element of a comprehensive educational program is the active involvement of parents and other community members in planning and operating the schools. If the atmosphere is one of cooperation, the parents view the school as a partner in a difficult but rewarding task--the education of children. Teachers also learn from parents about the cultural and environmental background of the children. With appropriate staff development, teachers can draw on parent and community resources in providing learning experiences which meet the needs of all the children in school.

Accordingly, multi-ethnic school community councils will be established for the school district. The councils will be provided by the District with training and guidance essential to educate their members with the basic concepts of effective educational planning and evaluation.

The School Community Councils shall make a yearly evaluation of the new consolidated district's education program and shall assist the school district in formulating education goals and objectives. The School Community Councils shall assist the school district in the assignment and evaluation of students for possible placement in Educable Mentally Retarded and Minimally Brain Injured classes.

VII. SPECIAL EDUCATION

The assignment of students to special education classes has been specified by the Texas Education Agency regulations. These specifications will be followed specifically in conducting the special education program of the District. In addition, a consultant will be employed to suggest program modification and improvements within the Texas Education guidelines.

The following steps will be taken:

(1) As in the case of the other staff, recruitment and selection of special education teachers will include those who can teach in both Spanish and English, and who have an understanding of the cultural backgrounds of minority group children and all other children in the program.

(2) The continued development and implementation of adequate screening, appraisal and assignment techniques that have as an integral part the assessment of the child's behavior at home, at school, and among his peers, and that in no way penalize those students whose home language is Spanish.

(3) The continued development of curricula and individualized teaching strategies that reflect the particular needs of the bilingual-bicultural child.

(4) An intensive effort to maintain a communication bridge between the parent and the school in such a way that parents not only have a knowledge of the entire special education program and its effect on their child, but also are assisted by the school to provide considerable input into the functioning of the program.

(5) Inclusion of special education staff in the staff training program to develop an awareness of the cultural and linguistic factors that each child brings to school.

The committee that makes final assignment of students to special education classes shall include at least one Mexican American teacher and one Mexican American parent. This linkage will again serve as a source of dissemination of programs, goals, and objective information from school to community. The total committee should reflect the overall ethnic composition of the students in the total program.

All communications with parents, written and oral, shall continue to be in the language they best understand.

VIII. NON-INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT

Co-curricular activities (all school-related activities that can be classified as non-academic) play an important part in the total educational experience of students. In order to assure equal educational opportunity in the new consolidated district, the following steps will be taken:

A. A new co-curricular program shall be developed so as to reflect the background and interests of all students in the consolidated district, including but not limited to: school councils, honors organizations, booster clubs, school mascots, songs, chants, cheers, fraternities and sororities, school publications, dramatic activities, social activities such as dances, proms and banquets.

B. The reorganization and development of the new co-curricular program shall proceed on the basis that all previously existing school mascots, songs, chants, newspaper and yearbook names and school club or organization names are now null and void. The new student body in each school shall by general election select and name all of the above-named items, subject to approval of the School Board in the event that any of the above-named items are given names which are offensive or against public policy.

C. All organizations, clubs and activities of the consolidating districts shall be merged by holding new elections for officers of organizations and clubs and reorganizing social and athletic activities.

D. Special consideration shall be given to the naming of honor students in the 1971-72 school year by the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District. The 1972 graduating class shall have co-valedictorians and co-salutatorians named from the 1970-71 eleventh grade classes at the former Del Rio and former San Felipe high schools, respectively.

IX. FUNDING AND TIMING

It is recognized that implementation of the foregoing Plan will require an expenditure of funds greater than the amount now being expended by the district. It is also understood that the implementation of some programs contained in the Plan is dependent upon availability of additional funds from Federal, State, local or other sources.

Taking into account the funding problems confronting the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District, the following will be done immediately:

(a) Each element of the foregoing Comprehensive Education Plan now being carried on in the District will be continued and those elements of each program component that can be implemented from resources presently available to the District will be implemented:

(b) The District will, in good faith, continue to make application for sufficient funds from Federal, State and other sources to effectuate all elements of the Comprehensive Plan. Assistance in locating, making application for and securing funds for the Comprehensive Plan will be sought and provided on a continuing

> basis through the Department of Health Education and Welfare, the United States Office of Education, the Texas Education Agency, and elsewhere in compliance with the orders of this Court.

Insofar as the school district is capable of implementing all elements of the Comprehensive Plan immediately, the following priorities, for expenditure of funds and utilization of personnel, are established:

1. Staff training and development in accordance with the requirements of the Plan.
2. The bilingual-bicultural educational programs presently being operated or called for in accordance with the Plan.
3. Early childhood education program for three, four and five year olds.
4. Counseling programs for seventh and eighth grade levels, presently in operation or called for in accordance with the Plan.
5. The program for teaching of English as a second language, presently being operated or called for in accordance with the Plan.
6. Special Education.
7. All other components of the Plan not listed above.

The obligation of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District exists above and apart from the question of financing, and the District will commit such local funds as are available to the implementation of the Comprehensive Plan.

Special reports relating to the efforts being made to obtain funds from Federal, State and other sources to effectuate all elements of the Comprehensive Plan shall be made to this court by the Superintendent of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District on the 12th and 28th days of each month for the remainder of the 1971-72 school year, beginning December 12, 1971. Specific and detailed explanations of any obstacles encountered shall also be reported. Copies of such report shall be forwarded forthwith to counsel for all parties, including counsel for the Amici Curiae, and to each of the members of the panel of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit which may consider this civil action on appeal.

Progress toward full implementation of the Comprehensive Plan will be reported to the Court, copies to the parties, on February 15, 1972 and May 15, 1972 and semi-annually thereafter on October 15 and February 15. Each report to the Court will describe in detail the elements of the Plan not in operation at that time. For those elements not in operation, an explanation will be required, and a description of efforts to secure funding will be required.

X. EVALUATION OF COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATIONAL PLAN

The school district administrative staff shall develop a comprehensive evaluation plan for all programs hereinbefore described. This evaluation process shall include a component for determining the effectiveness of all programs with respect to individual students as well as students as part of a racial or ethnic group.

To insure a more comprehensive evaluation process, an educational consultant team shall be invited to work with administrators, teachers, and parents in an effort to provide educational expertise in resolving any problems confronted in the implementation of the comprehensive plan.

SIGNED and ENTERED this 6th day of December, 1971.

/s/ William Wayne Justice
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY

UVALDO H. PALOMARES

The science of psychology together with its application to children has been one of the giant steps of the twentieth century, and we have seen the topic of the psychology of the Mexican American child come to the surface in the various chapters of this book.

Dr. Palomares's paper, however, considers education for the Mexican American child specifically from the point of view of its psychological effects. He examines first the identity of the Mexican American child, pointing out the elements in his psychological make-up. Then he explains the effect that a different set of psychological values have when the child enters the Anglo school system and confronts what Dr. Palomares describes as the victim-perpetrator pattern. This analysis is then followed by recommendations for an educational program of which the first prerequisite is awareness on the part of teachers and administrators of possible characteristics in their manner of teaching which might have debilitating psychological effects on the child. Dr. Palomares's treatment of the subject is original and clearly-stated and the suggestions that he has for changes in the system are practical and specific.

Following the Editor's Summary of Panel Reactions is a short critique by James A. Vásquez, one of the panelists, concerning additional recommendations for the paper.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Uvaldo H. Palomares, Ed. D.

When education for the Mexican American child is discussed among professionals, various viewpoints emerge. At opposite poles we find the philosophies of separatism and integration, with many conglomerates in between. The separatist group insists that the Mexican American child should have his own school which has Mexican American administration and leadership so that he can develop freely and completely. The opposite group claims that integration into the Anglo culture and the formation of interrelationships with the Anglo American child are best for him.

There are many factors to consider when planning an educational program which best suits the Mexican American child. I would like to propose such a program, using a practical educational approach that will have a positive psychological effect on the child. First I will attempt to identify this child by presenting the elements of his lifestyle which make him unique; at the same time, I will describe the psychological effect that these elements have on him. Then I will point out the major psychological effects which have resulted from his life in the American system. After this I will suggest an educational approach which, I feel, can be very beneficial for the Chicano. Finally I will depict a theoretical program based on the approach discussed along with my vision for further legitimizing the Chicano in America.

Identification

In order to identify the Mexican American child, let us first exclude certain children who would seem to fit into this category but in reality do not. Although anyone with a Spanish-sounding last name or a Spanish accent in his speech will get a racist reaction, this is not the person about whom I will talk directly. We must also exclude the individual who comes from Mexico with a good education and who has the skills to achieve in a middle-class environment. We will not consider these as Mexican American children, even though many of the elements we describe might apply to them as well.

The Mexican American, or Chicano, to whom I am refering can be characterized by three basic elements: language, culture, and poverty. Language is really a part of the culture, but since it is such a major element, I will consider it separately.

Language. There are three dimensions to the language set of the Chicano, and they all have resulted in negative psychological effects in this country. The first dimension is that of the Spanish language itself. In this country, a negative attitude has been developed about Spanish. It is not a prestige language as, for example, French is. A person is not considered distinguished because he can speak Spanish. When ordering in a restaurant it may be considered elegant to order in French, but not in Spanish. Spanish is not greatly honored in America.

The second aspect of the language characteristic is that the Chicano child really doesn't speak pure Spanish. In the home, the child learns neither standard Spanish nor standard English, but a mixture. This mixture, called pochismo, Tex-Mex, or Spanglish, is not only looked down upon by the Anglo power structure, but by the Mexican power structure as well. Although the parents of the Chicano child may speak pochismo themselves, they are ashamed of and apologetic about it. In the schools, all measurement of achievement is based on one of the two standard languages. Communication is also in one of these two languages, and the child is proficient in neither. It thus becomes frustrating for him to try to express himself verbally.

The study of psycholinguistics shows that a feeling is ascribed to each word spoken. When a word spoken by a Chicano child is criticized or laughed at because it is not "good" English or "good" Spanish, the feeling behind the word is rejected. When a well-meaning teacher tries to destroy the way the Chicano child says things by constantly correcting his errors, the teacher is in a sense destroying the child. This disrespect for his words spoken in Spanglish is also a disrespect for the feelings of the child. He develops a negativism about the way he speaks.

The Chicano also develops a negativism about the way he speaks English, even if it is standard. He will probably have a Spanish accent, and that in itself is discriminated against. An educated Mexican American may have trouble getting a teaching job because of his Spanish accent, even though a person with a heavy

Southern drawl will have no trouble getting a job in the same place. The experiences that a Chicano has with his Spanish, English, and Spanglish may result in the wearing away of his self-esteem.

Culture. In his article, "Culture, Conflict, and Counselors" in American Personnel and Guidance (Oct. 1, 1971), John Aragón defines culture as the life style which includes language, diet, dress, social patterns, and ethics. I would like to deal briefly with each of these to show how the Chicano subculture is victimized by the larger American culture. I have just described the language aspect, so I will merely repeat my point that the negativism toward Spanish, *pochismo*, and even a Spanish accent is degrading and humiliating to the Mexican American.

The Mexican American child goes to school and studies nutrition. He must study food charts which show only American foods. He does not see his foods included in the well-balanced diet. Comments made about Mexican food may include such words as delicious, tasty, hot or spicy, but never nutritious or healthy. He is made to feel bad about eating his style of breakfast, lunch, or dinner.

Dress has changed over the years, and such differences in clothing which once were great are now minor. Flamboyancy, which was once a Chicano characteristic in dress, is now accepted as a part of the American dress. Although the styles of clothes now worn are similar, the way they are worn may show differences. For example, when I was in high school, the Chicano girls wore their skirts slightly shorter than the American girls. It was like an identifying symbol for them. The schools then passed a dress code stating that skirts and dresses were to be a certain length. This rule was made without regard to the style of the Mexican American girls. They had to make a decision to conform to the Anglo system, thus losing part of their identity, or be sent home from school. Either way, their self-image was broken.

The social patterns of the Mexican American include that of a strong family relationship. This is not honored in the American system. The Chicano values caring for the elders in the family by the young. In this country schools encourage the child to go to college if he really wants to succeed. When the Chicano student is trying to make his decision whether to go to college, he does not receive help from the school counselors in his painful struggle of knowing that he will have to abandon his family if he goes. He receives no sympathy for his guilt feelings about leaving his family, knowing that they will have to live on a lower income because of his absence. He will know that his participation in family decisions and perhaps his leadership will be missed. The counselor may see his struggle but will probably interpret it as an immature attachment to home, and he will advise the student to cut the apron strings. This adds to the inner struggle of the student. He will have to apologize for his feelings even though he should be extremely proud of his sense of responsibility and respect for his family.

The last dimension of culture, as defined by John Aragón, is ethics. A good example of this in the Mexican American culture is nepotism, or the display of favoritism to relatives. When John Kennedy appointed his brother to the post of Attorney General, the American community was scandalized. The Chicano community, on the other hand, applauded because it understood that appointing a relative to a desirable position was a symbol of trust and honor to one you love. It is a cultural value which the American system does not recognize.

Poverty. The final characteristic element of the Chicano is that of poverty. Many people try to explain the problems relating to culture as problems which are due to poverty. I feel that the two exist simultaneously, and it is difficult to separate them. However, if poverty were erased, the cultural problems due to prejudice would still remain. Nevertheless, the Chicano child has not been allowed the opportunity of exposure to learning sets that belong to high achievers in the middle-class world. Because he is deprived of these learning sets and values, he is not allowed success.

Major Psychological Effects

All of these elements which make the Chicano the person he is have produced the variety of effects which I have described. Together they give rise to larger consequences which are a plague to the Chicano community. Because the Chicano has been denied his ethnic identity and cultural vitality in the American system, he has learned to be extremely defensive and negative about himself. He has learned to play the role of a victim, and in the process his self-esteem has suffered. This has even been the case among educated Chicanos.

A while ago I attended a conference of Mexican American educators. During a discussion period, the question was asked, "What do we do about the problem of the child who speaks a mixture of Spanish and English?" This question has been asked in a negative way like this many times. It has been answered defensively just as many times by those of us there. It is usually answered, "But it isn't a disadvantage. . .," and the explanation elaborates why it is not a disadvantage. At this conference we were all surprised by the response given. Instead of answering the question from a defensive standpoint, as we were all accustomed to, the speaker spoke as if it were a positive question. His answer was something like this: "Oh yes, how do we take advantage of that individual who has been brought up in an environment which has allowed him the creative interplay of two of the most beautiful languages in the world? How can he pick up the accruments of both languages and develop an ability in them which is functional and beautiful?" The speaker's attitude surprised us and made us feel good about being Chicanos. However, most Chicanos cannot respond in such a positive way because of their defensive conditioning as victims.

When a Chicano is surrounded by an environment which teaches him shame for the way he speaks, for his mannerisms, his culture, and his color, he learns to carve out for himself the role of a victim in our society. He learns how not to get angry when he should get angry. He learns to accept what he has been taught, however illogical. He soon becomes very good at being victimized, to the point that he refuses to change.

It is like the man-woman game. The Women's Liberation Movement says that the woman should be treated no differently than man. But the woman has been so good at playing the role of the victim that she becomes confused, and her actions are inconsistent with her words. She may say that she wishes to be completely independent, and then she will turn around and let a man hold a door open for her or lift a heavy object that she can easily pick up herself. Some women have become such good victims that they don't believe that they are being discriminated against. A man would never allow himself to do the same job as another man but be paid less simply because next year he could get pregnant. He would never take that kind of treatment. Because there was a chance that he could die the next year, he would not accept lower salary. Most women do not feel dishonored by such treatment. They accept it because that is all they know in their role as victims.

The Chicano has also accepted such treatment. For example, in the American educational system they say that the best way to teach a Chicano child English is to force him to stop speaking Spanish and to speak only English. This method shuts off the child from his only means of communication. Psychologists know that this will leave any child frustrated and fearful. The Chicano child may take extra long to learn because he spends most of his time in a confused mess trying to make some sense of his world. In my opinion, as a psychologist, this method is a barbaric and illogical way to teach children. But the Chicano has accepted it because we are set in our role as victims, blinding ourselves to the truth. Once a victim gets settled into his role, he begins to develop a fantasy around himself that the perpetrator really isn't hurting him. He feels that nothing is wrong with the way he is being treated. Many Mexican Americans refuse to see how their people are being victimized.

At this point I would like to say that there are many Chicanos who have been able to mobilize themselves to the point that they have escaped playing the role of a victim and feeling badly about themselves. All Chicanos, as well as all people, have been victims to some extent, and some of us have been able to cope with it and even reverse it. There are many Chicanos, especially the young people, who have a high self-esteem. I am not making the assumption that all Chicanos have a negative self-image. However, I am going to treat the issue as though the consequences for us have taken full effect. I want to examine how our self-esteem has been worn away so that you can better understand my positive recommendations at the end. My purpose is to make sure that our children don't have to struggle with the victim role at all.

Both the victim and the perpetrator have proceeded with a kind of mutual conspiracy of differential treatment. The perpetrator has also built up a fantasy in which he believes that he treats everyone equally and fairly. In America we tend to fantasize that our stated value of equal and fair treatment for all--regardless of race, color, creed, national origin, or sex--is a present reality. This is the converse of not desiring to face an unfavorable reality--we fantasize that good exists simply because we wish to believe it. Many perpetrators do not believe they are treating certain people as victims simply because they do not want to believe it.

Many teachers and counselors who think that they relate well to children may be acting as perpetrators without knowing it. They may be communicating racism in subtle, nonverbal ways. For example, recent studies indicate that there is a direct relationship between skin color and the frequency of physical contact between people. The lighter the individual the closer we stand to him and touch him. Once, when I submitted myself to the scrutiny of video tape, I was shocked to see myself favoring lighter skinned students over darker skinned students.

Many Mexican American educators are at fault for turning into perpetrators against our own people. We feel we are exempt from the crime of the perpetrator. However, as soon as the victim is in the position of authority, he knows how to act only in the way he has seen others act, and that is as a perpetrator. This has happened in television programs about teaching English as a second language. The teachers are Mexican Americans who were once poor, but somehow made it to the middle class. They have learned to value pure English and pure Spanish as being good, but pochismo as being bad, though they had spoken pochismo all of their lives. When they try to help a Chicano child, they reject him by rejecting the way he speaks. The message has been relayed by his own people who have learned to become perpetrators as quickly as they had once learned to become victims. I am concerned that the Chicano get out of his role as a victim--not so he can become a perpetrator himself, but in such a way that he won't need to be a perpetrator.

My feeling is that our educational system has refused to deal with the effect of the perpetrator on the problem of minority groups. It has explored only the weakness of the members of these groups. No attention has been given to the weakness of the system or to the perpetrators within the system. The only solution to the problem is: we must get the victim to stop being a victim and the perpetrator to stop being a perpetrator. In order to enable the child to become a non-victim, we must start the process of conditioning of people in authoritative roles to stop being perpetrators.

Prescription

In the American system we are so entrenched in our roles that when given a place of authority we naturally fall into the role of a perpetrator. For example, there were laws written in many states that said we could teach our children only in English. To abide by the law means to cut off many children from their only means of communication. Color preferences have been built into us by television and advertising. We do not know how to act in any other way because we have been so brainwashed. I would like to prescribe steps which can be taken to counteract the roles in which we are entrenched. I want to direct the prescription to those who are unconsciously in the role of perpetrator, to those educators who have communicated differential behavior to children without knowing it. Some of us are doing this to lesser degrees than others--perhaps because we were not surrounded by conditions which led to these ways of interacting or because we have slowly built up a growing awareness of it and have learned to fight it. I think that I am better at not being a victim than I once was, and I am better at not being a perpetrator because I became aware that I was acting in that role. Therefore, the first prescriptive step toward eliminating the perpetrator and victim roles is to develop a growing awareness in the perpetrator that he is behaving differently with certain people.

We all want to say that we are not guilty of treating children differently because we really believe that they should be treated equally. We say we love the little prietitos, or dark ones, as much as the light ones because we want it to be true. We don't want to admit racism because that is evil. No one wants to be guilty of that. We say to ourselves, "How can we be guilty if we aren't aware that it is happening?" We will never become aware unless we get off the guilt bag, and we must admit the fact that we do commit racism even if we don't want to.

Let me emphasize that I am not referring to conscious prejudice, because there are many people who are more adept at fighting that than I am. I am talking about people who give a damn, people who care. This includes anyone who works with Chicano children and who thinks that he is treating them fairly because he is Cuban, Puerto Rican, liberal White, conservative-but-fair, or even Chicano. I am concerned when I see a Puerto Rican who speaks very good Spanish chastising a Chicano child because of his Spanglish, ignoring a very basic need of the child to feel good about the language he speaks and thinking that he is not exhibiting racism. I am concerned about the Chicano educator who is very involved in the movement teaching a course in bilingual/bicultural education and spending more time with her lighter skinned students than the darker ones, without being aware that she is doing it. Both of these people are so blinded by the history of interrelationships that are so ingrained in them that they have no awareness of their acts. These are people who will benefit from my prescription.

In order to bring ourselves to awareness that we are perpetrators, we must start aggressively sharpening our ability to see ourselves performing in these ways, verbally as well as non-verbally. The best way I know of to date is the use of video tape. Because it can record our verbal and non-verbal behaviors objectively, video tape will help us to assess them more objectively. We should also have the help of another person to judge our behaviors recorded on the video tape, because we may not see our negative-rejective messages to kids. We are afraid to see ourselves in the role of perpetrator, and we may try to hide the truth from ourselves. We should allow a friend to sneak up on us and observe us at any time during the day so we can become sensitive to the fact that we may be communicating rejective messages to certain children. We must put ourselves to the test in whatever creative way we can contrive. Once we are brought to the initial awareness of our condescending vocabulary, attitudes and postures, we will gradually become more keenly aware of them as we continue our self-examination.

After becoming aware of our undesirable behaviors, we should make decisions concerning the area in which change is needed. For example, I have become aware that I am exhibiting rejective behavior to the children who speak pochismo. My values say that I want to give equal treatment in terms of attention, love and interaction. Therefore, I must decide how I want to change. In this case, I want to stop my negative reactions to the ones who speak pochismo.

The process of behavioral change cannot stop at this point. We would like to believe that by wanting to change and by knowing just how we want to, we will indeed change. But this is not enough. For years perpetrators have believed that children should get equal educational opportunities, and children still get differential treatment by them. What we must do to produce the desired change is to set up artificial situations which will force us to act in the direction of our values. By entrapping ourselves in artificial situations we will be made to practice the desired change.

We are afraid of the words artificial, fake, or phony, and we may be adverse to this remedial step. But if we are going to act one bit differently in the direction of our values, it is going to be uncomfortable, and we are not going to want to do it. We will label it undesirable in order to get out of doing it. We may say that we don't want to be fake, but if we can't be a little bit fake in order to force ourselves in the right direction, we will never change. By setting up a situation--like arranging to visit with every student for two minutes and forcing myself to do it--I will be attending to the ones I have been ignoring. This will be artificial and uncomfortable, but it will help to produce my desired change.

The change will not come overnight. It doesn't come in giant leaps, but in small developmental steps. We must practice these artificial, uncomfortable behaviors long enough for them to become real and comfortable, and this takes time. It may have taken an average of twenty-five years before we became somewhat aware, so it will take a considerable amount of time to change our behaviors. We have to be extremely conscientious in our practice, because the minute we drop our guard we will fall back into the role of perpetrator. We must accept the fact that we are going to try to sneak out of it and will use every evasive technique we can create--from developing headaches to thinking that the children don't like it. Every time we slip out of the habit of practicing, we will be destroying our goals.

Changing psychologically entrenched behaviors, particularly when institutionally supported, is so difficult that I would suggest one more remedial step. It would be in the form of accountability systems in which we submit ourselves to the scrutiny of a "policeman." I am realistic enough about human nature to know that I cannot do it alone, so I get myself a policeman--someone whom I value and trust or someone whom I dislike--whoever will force me to follow through with my plan. My policeman must be allowed to come into my classroom spontaneously and have the authority to hurt my feelings if I don't do what I have planned. In this way I not only have to be accountable to myself, but to someone else as well. It will keep me in check at all times, and this is the best way I will experience complete behavioral change.

Theoretical Educational Program

The theoretical program which I would like to propose is feasible in any educational system, whether it is run by Chicanos for a majority of Chicanos or a system with only a small percentage of Chicanos enrolled. The first priority for this program would be to engage the system in a period of self-discovery to bring perpetrators to awareness as to what they are doing to downgrade, deny, or suppress the child. Bilingual/bicultural programs can eventually lead a perpetrator to awareness, but they can also allow racists to hide behind tremendous amounts of cognitive knowledge, materials, methods, and curriculum. Learning about Juárez as a great president is supposed to make the Chicano child feel good. But a teacher can make the child feel just as badly about failing a test on Juárez as failing one on Lincoln. He can feel equally rejected about not understanding that the nutritional value of "menudo" for breakfast is as high as that of any American high-protein cereal. If you try to start a good educational program with a curriculum relevant to the Chicano child without first going through a period of self-examination, you may be wasting a lot of time, energy, and money.

Use as many techniques as time, money, and abilities will allow for the awareness phase. Make use of video tape, observers, panelists, speakers, and other tools which will help examine your interactions with kids. Sensitivity training can help to some extent. It will bring to awareness some hidden hostilities of people. But I think it is more important for a teacher to be able to see himself expressing verbal and non-verbal unconscious behaviors with children in the classroom. Let's not limit it to teachers only, but to principals and administrators interacting with teachers and children.

This self-examination phase should continue along the prescriptive steps I have mentioned, with the arrangement of classroom activities and interactions to make sure that the children are treated fairly and equally and that some arrangement is made to bring out the value that extra time is given to those who need the extra attention. If you value listening, make sure that in your classroom, or in your role as principal or coordinator, you force yourself into listening postures for periods of time. Time yourself, or have someone else time you to make you listen to those who turn you off as well as those who interest you. Continue the practice of these activities and set up an accountability system to measure, force, police, and construe your actions.

Once this awareness period is in full swing, we can consider the problems of curriculum and methods. It would be ideal to have many bilingual/bicultural teachers who not only can speak Spanglish, but also standard Spanish and standard English, and who can teach any subject matter in any of these languages. I was taught to teach only in English. The fact that I spoke Spanish was purely accidental. When I try to teach in Spanish, it is a direct translation of something I was instructed to teach in English, accompanied by all the cultural biases. There are some Chicano teachers who can teach in both languages, communicating the values of both languages and cultures. I would like to make my recommendations concerning methods and curriculum based on that ideal. From these we can make the necessary compromises. Let us not reject the ideal because we can't reach it now, but let's take steps toward it in the most creative ways we can. For example, if you don't have a teacher who can speak Spanish, try to find aides who can. Bring in someone from the community as an intermediary no matter how many hang-ups he may have. Use every resource you can assemble for your purposes.

Based on the ideal that we have teachers who are resourceful enough to be able to teach in pochismo, Spanish, or English, my program would start where the child is and legitimize him in the language he uses and understands best. It would be an individualized instruction system in which every child would have someone interacting with him and listening to him--a person who could be in tune with the child in terms of what he knows and how he learns. This person--teacher, aide, or resource person--would be one who is keen at observing his learning sets, his motivational style, and his interactional skills. The teacher would be able to observe whether the child learns intuitively or methodically and what motivates him to learn. Later the motivational style could be shifted, if necessary. But to begin working on the child's level the teacher would deal with his present status.

If we can teach only children who are motivated in certain ways, we will lose a good percentage of our students. This is what has traditionally happened in our schools. The child who is motivated differently is left out. Jane Mercer, in her research in Riverside, California, has discovered that Chicano children are motivated differently than Anglo ones. The Chicano children have also shown different learning patterns from those of the middle-class American children. We haven't taken advantage of how the Chicano child is turned on. We must learn how he is motivated and what he knows and begin from there. How much English does he speak? How much Spanish does he speak? How does he speak Spanglish? By mixing words, or sentences? Does he combine or substitute words? How much math does he know? Does he have a functional use of certain mathematical concepts? We must get a profile on the child and build the educational program around the profile.

When we have learned enough about the child to begin working with him in subject areas, we should start teaching him in the language most comfortable to him, even if it is a Spanish-English mixture. If his mixture is predominantly Spanish, we must gradually give him a solid vocabulary in Spanish, always maintaining the value of his mixture. When he becomes relatively comfortable in Spanish, then we can begin teaching him in English. Then all the learning concepts he has learned in Spanish can be shifted to English as he learns it. These shifts should occur when the child becomes comfortable and proficient enough so that he is ready to explore other means of communication. It may take a year, two years, or more, depending on the individual. The schools and the teacher will have to be very flexible. Learning the second language should be done at first during a small part of the day in short, concentrated lessons. The rest of the day he would still be learning in "his" language. As he progresses, he can begin to learn his subject matter in the second language. When the child gets to the point that he can learn the curriculum in both languages, he can help teach other children.

There are people who say that you can actually begin teaching them in both languages simultaneously. The teacher teaches in pure Spanish, pure English, and mixes them at times. She will teach this way all day to both Anglo and Mexican American children. I have seen it done, and the children learn beautifully that way. I have also seen situations where the teacher will teach in one language all day and in the other language the next, or in one language for a week and in the other language the next week. I have seen teaching done in Spanish one semester and English the next semester. The children seem to be happier, more aggressive, more involved, and seem to learn a lot more. They also develop a better self-concept. These methods should all be observed and studied. However, I personally prefer first entrenching the children solidly in one language. My rationale is based on the fact that the child is still going to be surrounded by ambivalence and rejective behaviors, and he will have a better opportunity for adjustment if he can learn the language which is most comfortable for him.

If the value of a school district is to shift students to English as the age level gets higher, they should also maintain a concentrated period of study in Spanish so that the children can maintain this natural resource. Because of the extensive communication systems in this country occurring in English, the child will naturally find himself in the English speaking arena. Therefore, I think he should maintain an awareness of Spanish literature, language patterns, and a working vocabulary in the various disciplines. An adult can keep up a working Spanish vocabulary in his field by reading one journal every two weeks. As the child becomes an adult, he should keep his expertise in both languages.

Further Legitimizing the Chicano

It is my belief that if we want to legitimize the Chicano in America, we should work within the schools to create programs of self-awareness and follow through with the prescriptive steps to initiate behavioral change. My vision is for the appropriation of funds for the preparation of teachers, educators, and counselors--who can teach in Spanish, English, or Spanglish--to serve as consultants to their fellow teachers. They would become very articulate in defending the Chicano experience as a legitimate base on which to build educational programs. They would be trained to recognize that ethnicity influences interrelationships and point it out behaviorally to an unaware person in ways which the person can accept and which will not cause guilt feelings. They could suggest specific steps to institute change and act as policemen to insure that change.

There are other things which can be done to legitimize the Chicano's position. Studies should be performed to gather data on the cultural-linguistic patterns amongst Chicanos as a subgroup within the population. For example, one study would collect data on how the language mixture, Tex-Mex, combines words and sentences differently than pochismo. Another study could present information about how the values of the New Mexican differ from those of the Californiano concerning what they wish to be called and how they wish to be conceptualized. I have learned from John Aragón to appreciate why the New Mexican Chicano feels he has cultural characteristics which differentiate him from a California Chicano like me, but no in-depth studies have been made about these differences. When I talk about Spanglish, I'm referring to a complex cultural, social, linguistic mixture that hasn't been explored or legitimized. I would like to see money put into a study of the contributions of the varying mixtures of Mexican American culture at significant points along the border. These studies would serve to put into the hands of Chicanos information that will make us feel good about ourselves; and further, they would help to fortify our battle against a system that has rejected our legitimate existence.

As data is gathered and studies are made about the diversity of the Chicano culture and the contributions it has made, I would like to see it infused into the curriculum of the schools. As we discover who we are and what we did, and it conflicts with what the Anglo has been reporting because of his biased perpetrations, we should change curricula so that in the future the Chicano child can read about himself and find his role defined, explained, and legitimized within regular history books. Then we can add Chicano materials as reference sources for him to explore himself more.

Conclusion

This paper is a marriage of the things which I have learned, researched, and experienced. Many significant experiences, which have been slow and growing, have led me to the ideas expressed in this paper. I had an experience in Crystal City, Texas, just before writing this paper where I saw beautiful things happening. The city and school system were taken over by Chicanos, and the children were so turned on by the spirit that they were all teachers to each other and held themselves accountable. The school has become a focal point of growth for them. The leaders, like José Ángel Gutiérrez and Ángel Gonzales, have shown that beautiful things can happen in a very intuitive, creative, spontaneous way.

That experience has thrown a complete dimension into my thinking as a psychologist. It has shown me how much I have to learn and how much is out there that I don't know.

In this paper I have shared my ideas and experiences with the reader. I know that there are other ways to approach the psychology of the Mexican American, and I may be blinded to them now; but the things I have written here are things in which I strongly and powerfully believe.

EDITOR'S SUMMARY OF
PANEL REACTIONS

Dr. Palomares opened the discussion on his paper by explaining that he had decided to emphasize his own assessment of the psychology of the Mexican American and its accompanying problems rather then make use of many references and quotes from others in the field. Inviting frank commentary, he stated that since the paper reflected views to which he was strongly committed, he would try to listen closely and digest the panelists' reactions instead of responding immediately to any objections and risking distortion of the panelists' viewpoints.

The first question concerned a clarification of the phrase "legitimize the Chicano," which, it was pointed out, was used several times. Many Chicanos might be prone to say, "Legitimize myself? I don't have to explain myself to anybody." Dr. Palomares explained that in his opinion objections to the use of the phrase are ultimately based on mere wishful thinking and that the Chicano, precisely because of the role he has had to play for so long, must legitimize both for himself and the Anglo the validity of his identity as a Chicano.

The section on language was brought up next, and it was suggested that the terms "good English" and "good Spanish" might be changed to "prestige English" and "prestige Spanish." Furthermore, it was pointed out that teachers who are negative about pochismo are not necessarily so because of racist attitudes. Rather they see themselves as the protectors of the purity of language and are therefore negative about any non-standard dialect.

It was also suggested by the same panelist that talk about eliminating the need to be a perpetrator should be complemented by talk about eliminating the need to be a victim. A plan that would thus aim at the masochistic as well as the sadistic side of this question would do so by working to strengthen the child's self-concept.

Later on during the panel discussion this plan was further elaborated by an example of an in-service program for teachers which operates on the cognitive and effective levels. The teacher must first, it was said, learn self-respect, which would imply also a respect for the persons of others. On this base could then be built the cognitive skills necessary for teaching a particular cultural group such as Mexican American children. The children, seeing the teacher interacting with other adults (such as teacher aides) and with them on a basis of personal respect and trust, then learn to respect themselves in a way that excludes the probability of their allowing themselves to be victimized. Finally it was emphasized that there is empirical and statistical evidence of the effectiveness of this training program.

Returning to the subject of language, one of the panelists asked whether or not there was any remedy for the fact that Spanish is not a prestige language in the United States. The panelists also recommended that a clearer distinction be made in the paper between this problem and that of pochismo. He added that correction of pochismo by a teacher not only does not have a bad effect on the child, but is necessary for the cultivation of clarity of expression and communication. This correction, it was said, could be accomplished without psychological denigration of the child.

The central issue of the paper was the topic of a good deal of discussion. Some felt that individual aspects of Chicano culture such as living conditions, machismo, defense mechanisms, family ties should be discussed in detail. Another felt that the main point was the whole question of being different and the fear that this provokes in others because of the impossibility of behavior prediction (the author agreed that this element should be included in the paper). Still another, claiming that there should be more than one central issue, reiterated the necessity of affective understanding in teachers of Chicano children.

A suggestion was made in reference to the marginal culture of the Mexican American. Wallace Lambert's study of the same phenomenon in Canada speaks about anomie, a term meaning the "psychological happening" in a person who is plunged into another culture different from his own. It was recommended that Lambert's study be referred to in connection with the Chicano's search for his identity.

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator: Fernando C. Domínguez, Staff Instructor
Teacher Corps/Peace Corps
University of California at Santa Cruz

Recorder: Tomás Rodríguez
Teacher Corps Intern
University of Houston

Panel Members: Aaron H. Arce
Teacher Corps
University of Houston

George Gámez
Department of Psychology
University of California at Santa Cruz

Carlos A. García, Associate Director
Teacher Corps
The University of Texas at El Paso

Serafina Krear
Assistant Professor of Education
Sacramento State College

Juan S. Solís
University of Houston

James A. Vásquez
Administrative Assistant
School of Education
University of California at Los Angeles

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DR. PALOMARES'S PAPER

James A. Vásquez

Dr. Palomares's chapter deals with the psychology of learning as related to the Mexican American from what appears to be a social psycologist's point of view. A more comprehensive statement ought to include variables such as the following, all in relation to the cultural distinctiveness of Chicano students: reinforcement procedures, motivation, aspirational levels, modeling, and cognitive styles. In each case, the causal antecedents and classroom implications ought to be explored. Hard data from empirical studies will be scarce, no doubt. Nevertheless, what data there are certainly should appear in this volume. Where information is nonexistent, the above learning variables ought at least to be explored by way of inference, and suggestions should subsequently be offered to teachers of Mexican American students.

Castañeda, Ramírez, and Herold at the University of California, Riverside, for example, have focused on the field-dependent/independent variables in relation to Chicano students. These variables refer to the way an individual attends to the stimuli in his environment. Thus, the field-independent individual is able to give his attention to an object without being distracted by other stimuli in the immediate environment. Field dependence indicates the tendency of an individual to see an object largely in terms of its relationship to surrounding stimuli. Thus the concept has a strong bearing on how teachers of Mexican American students should present instruction and, especially, instructional materials, since these men conclude that Mexican American students clearly tend toward field dependence. Numerous educational implications were drawn by Castañeda, et al, (Culturally Democratic Learning Environments) for teachers of Chicano students as a consequence of their study.

Recently published data indicate that the Mexican American child is motivated in a manner that is different from the motivation of the Anglo child. It is said, for example, that he seeks to achieve largely for the sake of his family, while the Anglo child seeks achievement for his own sake. Studies also indicate that competition and cooperation are variables that differentiate between Chicano and Anglo students. This has clear implications for teachers and for the types of classroom activity undertaken. Other studies suggest that Mexican American and Anglo students respond differently to abstract presentations and to modeling in the classroom. These areas must be investigated thoroughly before a philosophy of education for the Chicano will begin to be complete.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Julian Nava, Ph.D.

San Fernando Valley State College

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPER BY
JULIAN NAVA

Dr. Nava's presentation of the Mexican American from the historical viewpoint discusses the inadequacies on this topic that have characterized the teaching of history in the United States. Since United States history accounts were written from the dominant Anglo-American point of view, it is not surprising that a certain amount of neglect with regard to minority groups occurs. But Dr. Nava examines the question much more deeply and shows that, in addition to "sins of omission" on the part of Anglo-American historians, definite positive prejudices were operative that had their roots in European history.

After presenting this informative background on history and the Mexican American, Dr. Nava makes specific suggestions regarding a history curriculum that would present an unbiased and positive treatment of the Mexican American as part of the whole of United States history.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Julian Nava, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Mexican American has yet to be written. It must be extracted from earlier sources which displayed bias through acts of commission as well as omission. It must also be pulled out of forgotten documents in national, state and local archives, as well as personal papers and popular media of all sorts. When more efforts are directed at revealing Mexican American history, new insights on United States history will emerge. We cannot expect that one authoritative account of Mexican American history shall come about, but we can expect that old myths will evaporate in the light of more certain and objective information about the history of Mexican Americans. Ultimately this new history will probably be a process, rather than a product.

New insights to Mexican American history will illuminate Mexican history as well as that of the United States. Indeed, in view of the intimate relations of the two nations and peoples next door to one another, a common history emerge in which the political border declines in importance as compared with the everyday life of the peoples on both sides of the artificial line. Mexican American history may well reveal some unique aspects of continental history that stem from a very special situation.

It seems to me that when Mexican American history comes to light that it must be more than past politics. The everyday life of people gets little attention from most historians. Social and cultural history has been slighted by those who favor politics, mainly the politics of high officials, parties, generals and major economic interests. Mexican Americans have always been important in politics, even though they were not in the saddle. Because of their general lower socioeconomic roles their history may well be different from that of other Americans, who directed political events. In this respect it seems to me that a more accurate portrayal of Mexican American history opens the door to better history about other non-White Americans as well.

The accurate writing of Mexican American history will produce distress in many quarters. Many will be unhappy at the revelations of achievements or of past wrongs which caused sufferings for many generations later. Mostly it will be the WASP element of historians and educators that will suffer shock as their knowledge about the past in challenged. This leads me to suggest that all history is tentative knowledge about the past. As new data and insights arise, so will our understanding change. This change may cause stress both within the general American public as well as the Mexican American group itself.

Most history is the account of the victor. That is to say, until recent times readers found it very difficult to read works by the losers. Apologies and memoirs are common over time, but most official works portray the view of those who won the contest in question. This is particularly true when it comes to books and accounts used in schools. United States history is probably more chauvinistic than most others in light of its unique character and the demands made upon it both to explain our history to ourselves and to justify our world role.

Mexican Americans are identified as losers in virtually all history works that deal with them at all. Although Americans generally display sympathy for the underdog in sports and some other areas, they worship success far more. Losses or defeats are not treated kindly in U. S. social sciences, and thus the Mexican American occupies a role that does not elicit sympathy in real life or in written accounts of past events.

One need only pick up any U. S. history book to find negative stereotypes and prejudice against the Mexican American. The most enlightened general school text, Land of the Free (Caughey, Franklin and May), first published in 1966, was very deficient on the Mexican American. Even then it was the best U. S. history book for secondary schools to date. Rather than recite the litany of neglect and bias, let us turn our attention to how all this came about and what we can do about it.

Some basic questions come to mind around which the essay will revolve:

1. Some major ingredients of historical bias against the Mexican American.
2. How did historical bias against the Mexican American come about?
3. What is a meaningful historical framework for understanding the Mexican American?
4. How should Mexican American history be made part of the whole picture?
5. Some issues that lie ahead.

SOME MAJOR INGREDIENTS OF HISTORIAL BIAS AGAINST THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Mexican Americans share with other minority groups the common judgement that they are less than equal Americans. This applies to groups like Blacks, Jews, Indians, Asians and so forth. Prejudice or racism has a history in the United States, beginning with the colonies and applying differently to various groups throughout our history. It is fruitless at this point to ask who has suffered more, the Black, the Indian or the Mexican American. Prejudice was evident from the start, and virtually all literature is so steeped in it that we take it for granted in either explicit or implicit form.

In all fairness, life cannot proceed without the making of distinctions. Indeed, distinctions and classifications comprise the very foundations of all knowledge. Obviously, not all people are the same. Thus, Indians soon formed stereotypes of the White man no less than conversely. Rather than run away futilely from making distinctions and forming stereotypes, we should shed light on those that affect us in an effort to reduct their inherent faults and to maximize their benefits.

Racism and prejudice are found among minorities as well as the majority. In developing critical thinking regarding group distinctions, our educational calling requires that we deal with all students according to their needs. Racism practiced by one group against another can produce a mirror image; both require our attention. When Mexican American youths call an Anglo American a gabacho it is equivalent to someone calling him a greaser. Let us turn our attention now to the ingredients of stereotypes and prejudice that affect Mexican American history.

From primary grades through high school (and College as well) published sources and attitudes commonly depict the Mexican as dumb, poor, uneducated, and lazy if not poor. The figure sleeping under the cactus, the serape-draped peon astride a burro and many other such standard symbols condition the viewer to regard the Mexican in a condescending manner. When alerted to this, any of us could spot comparable symbols in radio, movies, television and other public media. Such stereotypes have a steady effect on the unsuspecting viewer from his infancy on. In countless ways both students and the public are conditioned to regard the Mexican in a humorous and ridiculous light. Thus, it is safe to make jokes about the Mexican long after Blacks have gained immunity. A Frenchman can speak American English with an accent and indeed enjoy some advantage from it. This applies especially to an attractive woman. If Mexican men or women speak with an accent, they are embodying the negative stereotype. It is an interesting exercise in social criticism to draw up a list of ways in which the Mexican is the object of humor, scorn and condescension. Needless to say, practice will sharpen the smell and sight to where we can spot subtle instances.

Acts of omission as an example of prejudice comprise a group in themselves. Like "non-persons" in some totalitarian state, minority groups suffer destruction and damage by virtue of silence about them. In some prespects this void may be more damaging than acts of commision, for while a rational mind may disarm an overt act of prejudice a mere insinuation may feed upon ignorance. Teachers may find it revealing to study their instructional materials in order to see where omissions constitute a form of bias by depriving students of information without which a fuller meaning of history is impossible. The lack of a true understanding of history affects both the majority and the minority student. The damages caused by acts of omission are numerous, but I suggest that it is serious enough for the majority student to learn implicitly that minorities like Mexican Americans did not figure in U. S. history and for Mexican American students to surmise they have not played a role or made any contribution, as evidenced by silence about them.

Bias against Mexican Americans shares ingredients with that inflicted upon other minority groups, as suggested above. There are some unique components that affect Mexican Americans, however. Some of these should be sketched here in order that we avoid overgeneralization.

As long as the United States and Mexico share a border--and we can count on this for the foreseeable future--Mexican Americans will be unlike other minority groups. The history of the two peoples is unique in respects such as the following:

1. Large parts of the U. S. were forcibly taken from Mexico.
2. Americans developed a conqueror's attitude toward Mexico and its people.
3. Mexican Americans were assigned a role of an inferior race.
4. Countless Mexican Americans have lived in a feudal society in lands that were formerly theirs.

5. The border is the focus for strong forces and demonstrates interdependence between the two peoples.
6. Immigration from Mexico exceeds that of other nations.
7. The proximity of Mexico and the easy tourism reinforces cultural traditions.

Applying these factors to the history of other minority groups should help us arrive at the unique aspects of bias toward the Mexican American. The exercise will be useful even if some of the results are not conclusive.

HOW DID BIAS TOWARD THE MEXICAN AMERICAN COME ABOUT?

The origins of anti-Mexican feelings are found in Europe. Just as it is necessary to understand English history and institutions in order to understand the formation of American society, so too must we trace the origins of American attitudes about other peoples to their origin. Thus it follows that understanding Mexicans and their descendants depends in great part upon knowledge about their European and Indian past.

Harry Bernstein (Making of an Inter-American Mind, 1961) has portrayed the development in the United States of ideas about Latin Americans and the continent. He depicts the mixed feelings which colonists and our Founding Fathers had about Spaniards, criollos (Spaniards born in America), mestizos and other mixed groups in Spanish American lands. These attitudes were the product of certain events that took place after the discovery of America and the Protestant Reformation. Let us recall that the earliest U. S.

colonies date back to Jamestown and reflected European politics before American politics came into existence.

The discovery of America opened a new chapter in world history in ways most Americans do not understand. Our books tell the story with little if any attention to the Hispanic perspective on the momentous events that followed. Teachers can assess the Anglo (English) bias by analyzing the accounts available to them in college or teacher training. Most of these betray an anti-Spanish point of view. As Salvador de Madariaga put it, Spain had to be wrong so that England could be right in what she did around the world for some three centuries. In addition to a nationalistic bias against Spain, virtually all historical accounts omit reference to the great debate that raged in Spain over the Indian question and its resolution. Spain's mission in America (las Indias Occidentales) is usually grossly misrepresented as well. In short, the discovery of America has been interpreted through hostile English eyes.

The vilification of Spain and Portugal has been referred to as la leyenda negra. This bias has survived to the present time in different forms. Mexican Americans are intimately affected by the Black Legend, as we shall see. So, too, are other contemporary Americans.

The seeds of anti-Spanish sentiment sprang from envy and resentment at her phenomenal rise to world power upon the discovery of the New World. When the extent of the new lands became evident in Europe, more people questioned the legal basis for Spanish and Portuguese claims. Papal recognition silenced most critics as long as western Europe was nominally Roman Catholic. After the Protestant Reformation began, selfish national interests merged with religious ideas. Soon Spain and Portugal occupied a more difficult position. Now a Protestant God blessed the territorial ambitions of Protestant princes. With a national church at their side, northern European states felt more free to build animosity to Papal interests and the Iberian states. Spain under Charles I (grandson of the Catholic Kings) and especially under Phillip II assumed the task of defending Catholicism against heresy. Somewhat like U. S. crusades against Communism, Spain interfered in the domestic affairs of nations above the Pyrenees in defense of Catholicism. Spain also became involved in nothern European affairs due to the Hapsburg side of the Spanish royal family stemming from the marriage of Juana (daughter of the Catholic Kings to Philip the Fair, a Hapsburg prince). Thus for both religious and dynastic reasons Spain rather than Portugal became embroiled in central Europe as a defender of the religious status quo and as an imperial power. Spanish occupation aroused bitter hostility which her troops returned in kind. The very word "Spanish" became hateful.

Gradually France, England and the Lowlands (after their successful revolt from Spain) developed schemes to seize Spanish lands in America. Although denying it at first, or working through pirates in the service of the crown, northern European states claimed every right to seize lands in the New World and Asia as well. England presents the best example of the historical forces at play which led to prejudice against everything Spanish by the end of the 16th Century. A recent work by William S. Maltby, The Black Legend in England (1971), goes far to fill this void in history. It may be helpful for teachers of history to review the work on Philip II by Robert Watson, who wrote about 1777, or the work by the American writer, John Lathrop Motley, on the rise of the Dutch Republic in the mid-nineteenth Century. Each is a classic example of how bitter the feelings were about Spaniards. The works of Lewis Hanke (The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America, 1949) and Clarence Haring (The Spanish Empire in America, 1947) are seminal antidotes to the Black Legend that antedate Maltby.

In the latter half of the 16th Century, England and other nations assisted pirates that raided Spanish colonies around the globe. World-wide wars erupted in which imperial interests struggled for about three centuries. War embitters people against each other. In addition to this the religious wars brought divine interests into play in support of rival national ambitions.

Racism, as we would call it today, entered the picture and helped support anti-Spanish sentiments expressed in everyday life. Gradually, the wealth and vigor of Spain declined, and that of northern Europe rose. The rise of modern capitalism, industrialism, commerce and cultural activity flourished in northern Europe as the fortunes of Spain and Portugal declined. By most criteria northern Europeans dominated western European life, which revolved around new and vigorous Protestant religious and cultural values. The color of skin became associated with strength, creativity and power in the minds of nothern Europeans. In ways that are not fully enough explained but clearly evident, darker Iberian people suffered a new negative stereotype. Due to their African association, Spaniards and Portuguese are not so foolish as to equate darkness of skin with other forms of inferiority. As a matter of fact, the Iberian experience was to the contrary; much of their culture stemmed from north African peoples who were darker.

Contact with Africans for Iberians was mixed throughout history. The first northern European contacts were associated with slavery. Therefore, slavery added to the growing link between color and quality. The experience with slavery among Protestant and Catholic peoples had some qualitative differences from those of Spain. Because of Iberian experience with darker peoples, and due to the universality of Catholicism, Catholic support for slavery was always qualified, limited and guilt-ridden. In contrast, Protestant churches were White to start with and remained so. This helps explain the particular ingredients of racism among Protestants. Generally, among Catholics slavery was a social condition which did not define the inherent quality of the man. Among northern Europeans slavery came to reflect essential inferiority.

Racism is evident also in the differences between the Iberian and northern European view about the Indian. After the scathing denunciations made by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in the early

16th Century against Spanish treatment of the Caribbean Indians, Spain debated the Indian question for over a decade. The outcome produced the so-called New Laws of 1532. These defined the rights of the Indians and asserted royal protection and dedication to their Christianization. This stemmed from the conclusion that Indians were human beings, equal to Spaniards in the eyes of God and the king. Indeed, African slavery in Spanish America served at the outset to relieve demands on Indian labor. Even then in both Portuguese and Spanish America, slaves were extended legal rights exceeding those in the English colonies of the United States later. Spanish and criollo guilt over the hypocrisy of Black slavery helps explain the virtually unanimous measures to abolish or phase out slavery when new nations emerged in Latin America after 1810.

When the United States became a nation it reflected ideas and practices that assigned roles and values to culturally different groups. Indians were clearly outside of the body politic. Slaves were assigned a value for statistical purposes of representation in which each counted less than a man (3/5). Although Spain assisted the American revolution out of spite to England, our Founding Fathers had mixed feelings about Spaniards and some could see conflicts that lay ahead over Florida and other lands. Early American experiences with Indians and Blacks conditioned their attitudes toward others who were not White, Protestant and preferably Anglo-American.

The rise of nativism in the United States contributed to shaping American thinking in a way that affected Mexican Americans. John Highan (Strangers in the Land, 1955) is a good starting point for understanding the formation of attitudes of superiority and exclusiveness among Americans that gave rise to parallel minority groups. Soon after independence, groups like those suspected of royalist feelings, religious radicals and Catholics as well as political liberals of the French school suffered discrimination. The Alien and Sedition Acts exemplify this paranoia about dangers to Americanism. Before long believers of new religions like Christian Science and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints joined Catholics as groups set aside for disdain. In the course of efforts to forge a nationality and secure the nation, groups that stood out from the emerging Anglo-Protestant majority suffered pressure to conform or take the consequences. Most people fell into line and shed their foreign clothes, hair style, speech and culture to gain acceptance into the over-powering American majority so aptly described by the French visitor, Alexis de Tocqueville (Democracy in America, 1832).

By the time de Tocqueville wrote, Americans had streamed across the mountains into the Mississippi Valley and met Spaniards and Mexicans. Earlier predictions about Florida had proven true, and the United States pressured Spain to give up this land. Thirst for new land to the West set the stage for the conflict between the two neighbor republics, Mexico and the United States. Americans believed that Indians were inferior and that Spaniards and their descendants were vain, arrogant, cruel and Catholic as well. Because of Latin Americans' royalist backgrounds, most American politicians doubted whether they were capable of self-government. Paternalism toward the new Latin American republics marked much of U. S. involvement in Latin America. In light of all this, several historians have said that the conflict was unavoidable.

The so-called Monroe Doctrine of 1823 typifies U.S. paternalism toward Latin America and assumption of special rights on the continent. Before long, ideas about American destiny raised the issue to titanic levels and introduced notions about God's plan for the United States. Manifest Destiny supplied the final ingredient behind the force of American expansion.

The mestizo quality of most Mexicans added a new component to American racism described above. Mexicans were worse than mere Indians or Spaniards in that they were half-breeds. Many, of course, were Black or Mulatto as well as a lengthy mixture of the basic elements. Although many Anglo Americans were attracted by and admired the Mexican way of life, most scorned Mexicans and barely tolerated Spaniards when they had to. Leonard Pitt (The Decline of the Californios, 1966) traces the decline of the Spanish-speaking Californians in a somewhat typical region of the Southwest.

The separation of Texas from Mexico and the war that followed soon after is familiar in general. However, to understand the historical experience of Mexican Americans we must review those momentous events from the Mexican point of view, and hopefully from an objective position as well. Each nation and its peoples could be charged with bias. However, a comparison of the account of the conflict in United States and Mexican history textbooks is most interesting. Over and above the question of possible national bias, we must readjust our thinking to account for the premeditation and planning at all levels that underlay the U. S. role. The planning was such that even if Mexico had been united in its resistance (which it was not, due to perfidy at the presidential level) U. S. victory was almost certain.

We must add to the factors that shed new light on the Mexican War the fact that there was really no Mexico, except in a political sense. The common man was excluded from a significant role in government until the time of Benito Juárez. Indians did not feel Mexican. Spanish was a second language to them and they disliked officials, most of whom exploited them. The national character of Mexico was not yet formed when war with the United States overwhelmed the nation. Thus, Californios and New Mexicans did not put up a fight as one might expect. If they had, the contingents of U. S. troops would have been decimated in view of distance, supply problems and numbers. U. S. historians have misunderstood Mexico's poor showing and attributed it to inferiority.

History is the account of the victor. This provocative generalization certainly applies to accounts of the Mexican American after 1848 when he comes into existence. Cecil Robinson (With the Ears of Strangers, 1963) does a fine job of tracing references to the Mexican in American literature, just as Ramón Ruiz's short work (The Mexican War, 1963) helps those who want to reexamine that question in the light of varying sources and interpretations.

Mexican American is a term common since the Second World War. Before that they were just plain Mexican, if not greaser or other slang terms. In the century between 1848 and 1948 Mexicans got poor press and worse treatment. Two societies developed in the Southwest, the Anglo side of the tracks and the Mexican one. Each depended on the other, but the relationship was in essence a fuedal one. The Anglo American was lord, and the Mexican was the serf. Social and political facts seemed to reinforce Anglo ideas of superiority. These were reflected in education, culture and religion, as well as economic and social life. Very few positive references to Mexicans can be found in American letters, as Robinson points out.

The romance with the ranchos and missions toward the end of the century did not carry over to a revision of how living Mexicans were treated. This applied also to the newfound romance with Indians.

Mexican American resistance to injustice was ignored in history books, except in distorted fashion. Mexicans were "bandidos" in the event of violence. Anglos were "pioneers" by comparison. The killing of Whites by Indians was a "massacre," whereas Whites could only "put down Indian uprisings." The same form of bias affected Mexicans who fought to protect their property, religion and rights. This distortion of history can be read in any U. S. history book, so we need not take much time now. Notwithstanding the historical work of Hubert Howe Bancroft in the 19th Century or the work of Herbert E. Bolton in the 1930's, few contributed to a fair understanding of the Mexican people on both sides of the Rio Grande. Carey McWilliams opened the door to fresh air with his North from Mexico (1942).

Since the time when McWilliams's work characterized New Deal Liberalism, Mexicans gained stature gradually. The veterans of World War II, whom I term the "G.I. Generation," gained acceptance of the term "Mexican American." With this came renewed efforts to gain acceptance into the mainstream of Anglo society and reductions in blatant discrimination.

In the 1960's a new consciousness emerged among Mexican Americans. Some of the young, or young at heart, seized upon the word Chicano to describe themselves. Setting aside for now the fascinating Chicano movement for other papers in this volume, suffice it to say that a historical perspective on the Mexican American must take into account whether the old term still has universal meaning or acceptance. The history of the Mexican American has reached a new stage. We are making history in a new light.

WHAT IS A MEANINGFUL HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE MEXICAN AMERICAN?

The following represents a suggestion for incorporating Mexican American history into its rightful place in American history. Teachers will first have to restudy much of what they think they know about Mexican Americans, and this outline will help.

I. The encounter of Anglo-American and Hispano-Mexican civilizations in the Southwest.

   A. Two civilizations meet in the Southwest.
   B. Historical significance of Mexican American studies.

II. Looking back at how the New World was formed.

   A. The Black Legend and its historical effect on American historiography.
   B. Iberian elements in Mexican Culture.
   C. Indian elements in Mexican culture.

III. The Southwest is settled by Europeans.

   A. Life in the Southwest during Spanish-Colonial period.

IV. The encounter between Mexico and the United States.

   A. The Mexican American war.
   B. The genesis of the Mexican and American after 1848.

V. The Mexican American in the United States down to 1910.

   A. Elements and factors that have affected relations between Mexican American and Anglo American groups.

   B. The formation of class and status between the two groups in legal, political, economic and cultural areas.

VI. Mexican Americans since 1910.

   A. The Mexican revolution and its impact.
   B. Mexican American roles and contributions; areas such as agriculture, industry, professions, military, cultural life and politics.

VII. Recent developments.

   A. Changes after World War II (G.I. Generation and the Chicano movement)
   B. Current political environment and activity.
   C. Historical perspective.

HOW SHOULD MEXICAN AMERICAN HISTORY BE MADE PART OF THE WHOLE PICTURE?

We must break the vicious cycle whereby most educators do not give attention to Mexican American history because they know little about it. Assuming that educators are professionals whose development is a process rather than a finished product upon certification, let me suggest that new knowledge will stem from posing some basic questions about the history of the Mexican American. The following questions are suggestive rather than all-inclusive:

1. What is a Mexican American?
2. How many Mexican Americans are there and where do they live?
3. How do Mexican Americans earn a living and what do they like to do with their leisure time?
4. What have Mexican Americans contributed to the development of the United States?
5. How do Mexican Americans fit into your local picture?
6. How do Mexican Americans regard themselves?
7. How do you regard Mexican Americans?

When a teacher has made headway in answering these questions, his skills in curriculum development can be applied to fit Mexican American history into the general picture. Mexican American studies as such have emerged and have proven to be of great value. In the long run, however, "majority students" must learn about Mexican Americans in order to prevent the rise of prejudice through factual innoculation as early as possible. This can be accomplished only by improving the general social science studies to which all students are exposed.

History is what we remember, I would suggest. The things we think we know are the stuff from which we form ideas and shape the future. What we know is what we are. Thus every society tries to determine what its youth knows about the past in order to determine future conduct. Despite all of these assertions young people are remarkably immune to the benefits which accrue from the study of history. This rejection probably stems from the poor way history is taught for the most part.

How can we improve the teaching of history? I believe that the inductive method has more to offer than the deductive, which still dominates the field of teaching. Rather than force memorization (even about Mexican Americans), it is better to help students identify issues and formulate meaningful questions. The following example could be applied in many comparable learning situations and demonstrates a way to "grab" the students' interest:

> A grower has hired a large number of workers from Mexico. These enter with a "Green Card" pass and return home daily. This grower also hires Mexican American workers. These oppose hiring of Green Carders and make it hard for them on the job. Mexican Americans also seek help from government, unions and Mexican American pressure groups to get the grower to stop hiring Green Carders. The situation grows more tense all the time. Some fights have taken place.
>
> A teacher may rely on the seven questions posed earlier to examine this situation. Student reactions may also reveal basic questions and issues that shed light on the entire U. S.-Mexican question as well as on local everyday life.
>
> Items drawn from contemporary media may supply case studies in social, religious, political, military and cultural life, as well as personal questions such as dating, marriage and residential patterns. The study of the past can be more relevant when linked to a current issue.

For some time, dedicated teachers will have to develop their own materials in view of the slowness of publishers and institutions to make up-to-date materials available. Ultimately the teacher is responsible for the classroom. A review of current bibiliographies will reveal new works to help the teacher, so I shall mention only some typical new items that will help in the classroom. The Santa Barbara School District (Santa Barbara, California) and the Los Angeles Unified School District have developed curriculum guides for teachers on the Mexican American. I strongly recommend consulting the various works on bilingual education developed by the National Consortia for Bilingual Education in Fort Worth, Texas, which typifies new materials that are now emerging. Other districts are doing the same. I should also refer to a flood of new Chicano newspapers and journals that can be obtained easily. These deal with subjects others ignore. El Grito (Quinto Sol Publications, Berkeley, California) and Aztlán (Chicano Cultural Center, UCLA) are particularly helpful. The most recent bibliographies are by Matt Meier, A Bibliography of Mexican American History (1971); University of Houston Libraries, Chicanos: A Selected Bibliography (1971). Although out-dated now, I recommend The Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University, The Mexican American: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography (1969). All bibliographies become outdated rapidly, but these are a good beginning. Sources in other essays in this volume will supplement these suggestions.

SOME ISSUES THAT LIE AHEAD

A reevaluation of American history in order to reveal the role and contributions of minority groups will help everyone. In the meantime many will become extremely uncomfortable in the process. Department chairmen, supervisors, principals and school board members, as well as the public, are often aroused to resist a challenge to the old history. However, students are very receptive and will welcome a more honest, although troublesome study of the past. Teachers in grade schools, more so than professors in higher education, will have to develop the art of the possible when it comes to changing deficient curricula and supplementing instructional materials that tell fairly the story about Mexican Americans. They may even find some resistance from certain quarters in the Mexican American communities, not to mention from vested interests.

At what levels should a review of history curricula begin? The greatest and most long-range benefits stem from improving the instruction at the elementary grades, of course. However, all levels should be affected as soon as competence has been developed.

It is not a question whether or not to improve the teaching about minority groups like the Mexican American. This is coming about one way or another. The question is how soon we can do this in the best way possible.

In a shrinking world in which more nations are interdependent our youths face challenges of staggering magnitude. A better understanding of who and what we are as a nation will enhance our chances for survival and a happier life ahead. A fuller revelation of the extent to which all minorities have helped enrich our country will help youth deal with culturally different peoples at home and abroad more successfully. Teachers today truly hold the key for a better future, and that rests on a better understanding of the past.

FDITOR'S SUMMARY OF
PANEL REACTIONS

Following the presentation of Dr. Nava's paper, the panel discussing it made several suggestions concerning details in the text:

First of all, it was suggested that the terms Mexican American and Chicano might be defined and clarified. (Since these terms are spoken about at length in other parts of the book, the editor feels that such an explanation is not necessary here).

It was felt that an annotated bibliography would be of great help to educators for the understanding of the Mexican American as a product of history.

There was some discussion as to whether the term "American" as an adjective should be defined and differentiated from the meaning "pertaining to the United States."

As for the historical explanation itself, the panel suggested that since this explanation was very Spanish oriented it might be advantageous to treat also the mestizo element, the Mexican aspect of the Mexican American history.

Lastly, the question of stereotypes and their evaluation came up. It would be helpful, the panel pointed out, to explain how these stereotypes came to be developed, how they have been detrimental to the Mexican American, and how they differ from reality. In order to prevent the perpetrating of these stereotypes as reality, the reader should be afforded a clear explanation of them which will give positive evidence of their falsity.

The participants in this panel were:

Panel Coordinator: Juan Trujillo, Director
Teacher Corps
Southern Colorado State College

Recorder: Arnaldo Noyola, Teacher Corps Intern
The University of Texas at Austin and
San Antonio Independent School District

Panel Members: Luciano R. Baca
Department of Secondary Education
College of Education
University of New Mexico

Gilbert Chávez
Office of Spanish Speaking Affairs
U. S. Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Carlos E. Cortés, Chairman
Latin American Studies
University of California at Riverside

Gilbert T. Martínez
Bilingual-Bicultural Education
California State Department of Education

Alberto Ochoa, Chairman
Mexican American Studies
University of California at Santa Cruz

Richard S. Romo
Assistant Professor Chicano Studies
San Fernando Valley State College

Participating Observers:

Frederico Rendón
Teacher Corps Intern
The University of Texas at Austin

David Guzmán
Teacher Corps Intern
The University of Texas at Austin

APPENDIX

The following materials are to be used by local Teacher Corps projects and others in the field to evaluate this report. The results of these evaluations will be used in revising this report for publication as a book.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
CENTER FOR COMMUNICATION RESEARCH
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712

Teacher Corps Assistance Project
Speech Building 214F
AC 512—471-4101

March 24, 1972

Dear Participant:

The enclosed manuscript entitled Adelante: An Emerging Design for Mexican American Education presents the revised papers which were prepared for critical analysis by Mexican American scholars at the conference, "Toward a Philosophy of Education for the Mexican American," held at the Austin campus in November, 1971. The panel comments were summarized and appear at the end of each paper.

Since the manuscript will be submitted for publication in book form, only a limited supply have been printed in this form for field review.

The attached questionnaire is designed to enable each reviewer to express his reactions briefly and concisely. If you have additional suggestions, we would be most happy to receive them on this or on additional pages. Comments concerning the articles will be considered by the authors for possible revisions.

In addition, we are requesting your input for the preparation of the last two sections of the book. These are to be updated references for materials and resource persons in Mexican American education, and we want to make them as complete as possible. Forms are enclosed for this information, and we would appreciate your filling out as many as you can with the fullest possible amount of information. Please feel free to offer any suggestions you might have regarding this section.

We have been under a very tight schedule since the conference and are now two months behind. Therefore we must ask you to complete your review and submit your questionnaires by April 21. Information received after April 21 cannot be considered in the final revision.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

M Reyes Mazon

Manuel Reyes Mazón
Editor

This short questionnaire is designed to enable you to express your reactions to Adelante: An Emerging Design for Mexican American Education. If you have additional suggestions, we would be most happy to receive them on this or on additional pages.

Thank you,

Manuel Reyes Mazón
Editor

Please check appropriate blank

I am: I. ____ Mexican American
____ non-Mexican American

II. ____ a college professor
____ a teacher
____ a student
____ an administrator
____ a Teacher Corps intern
____ a team leader
____ a community representative
____ other: ______________________
(occupation)

If you wish to give your name, please print it here:

____

PLEASE MARK ALL ANSWERS BELOW ON A SCALE ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING CODE:

1. Excellent
2. Very good
3. Fair
4. Poor
5. Doesn't apply
6. I haven't read text in question

I. The Whole Book's Usefulness:

_____ 1. For a teacher, curriculum developer, or administrator.
_____ 2. As a college text.
_____ 3. As a resource book for students in general.
_____ 4. As a teacher-training text.
_____ 5. For parents of Mexican American schoolchildren.
_____ 6. Other (please specify)______________________________

II. The various chapters of the book:

	González	Córdova	Mazón	Arvizu	Uliberrí	Ramírez	Cárdenas	Estupinián	Arciniega	Palomares	Nava
1. Are the objectives of the paper clear?											
2. Do these objectives contribute to a philosophy of education for the Mexican American?											
3. Is the author's treatment of the topic exhaustive?											
4. Does his treatment accomplish the objectives of the paper?											
5. Does the author back up his statements with either logical proof or references to research?											
6. Are recommendations relevant to the paper's objectives?											
7. Do they evolve from what is presented in the paper?											
8. Are all relevant implications and recommendations brought out?											
9. Are the ideas expressed clearly and in proper order?											

RESOURCE PERSONS

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Actual experience:

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FOR ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

☐ Book ☐ Article ☐ Unpublished paper

Author__________

Title__________

Title of book or journal (if applicable)__________

Where paper was presented (if applicable)__________

Pages (if part of a larger work)__________

Editors (if applicable)__________

Publisher__________

City of Publication__________

Date__________

Volume (if journal, etc.)__________ Number__________

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